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Mission San Juan Bautista California: The causes and effects of its rise and decline

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Mission San Juan Bautista

California

BY

John M. Martin

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MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

CALIFORNIA

The Causes and Effects of its Rise and Decline

A dissertation submitted to

The Faculty of Philosophy

of

The University of Santa Clara

California

in partial Fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

John M. Martin, M.M., S.T.B., A.B., A.M.

Nineteen Hundred Thirty-three

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The immutable law of Cause and Effect affords an interesting gauge for the study of one of California's renowned missions. To compile all of the available data concerning a particular mission, to examine its buildings and grounds minutely and then to seek the Why and the Wherefore, provides an instructive undertaking.

Mission San Juan Bautista, California, the largest of the mission edifices, is a splendid subject for such a study. Why was it built, what was the purpose of its strange closed-off side aisles, why did it decline, what were the results achieved in its history?--- these are questions which naturally arise.

To the one who desires to coordinate all available information concerning San Juan Bautista there are two methods of approach. The first is to extract references to this mission from the books which have been written about the missions in general. The second is to spend some time at the Mission itself, to examine the buildings and church records; to interview the few persons still living in its vicinity who are old enough to form a link with the days when the Mission flourished.

The student who is interested in the record of the early Franciscan establishments in California finds to his disappointment that there is but a single volume of historical worth devoted specifically to San Juan Bautista. Although the church, the only one of the famous

structures built in three aisles, was once used as Alta California mission headquarters and is still utilized as the village church, authoritative information about it is fragmentary.

Of course the great treasure chest of facts is the scholarly work of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., Missions and Missionaries of California. Recently Father Engelhardt collected the data scattered over his four volumes into one book called Mission San Juan Bautista, a School of Church Music.

There are several popular works concerned with the California missions which can be classified as little better than travel literature. They throw some light on the condition of the missions during the period in which they were written, 1905 to 1930.

Of these The California Padres, by Saunders and Chase has one chapter devoted to San Juan Bautista. A similar treatment is found in Franciscan Missions of California by James, and In and Out of the Old Missions of California also by James, which is a rewritten form of the previous work. California and Californians edited by Hunt, has a few paragraphs on our subject made over from other sources. The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California by Rexford Newcomb is an architectural treatise in which the lack of text is compensated by good photos and sketches. Helen Hunt Jackson's Glimpses of California and the Missions has but two pages devoted to San Juan Bautista while Early Days at Mission San Juan Bautista, a private edition by Isaac L. Mylar, is a coll-

ection of memoirs pertaining principally to the village, its life and celebrities of later years. Romantic California by Peixotto and Spanish Arcadia by Mrs. Sanchez have brief mention of the Mission. Splendid photographs are found in the December 1919 issue of The Architect and Engineer (San Francisco). A colorful chapter containing many details supplied by this author is contained in The West is Still Wild by Harry Carr. Other earlier visits are recorded in J. Ross Browne's Crusoe's Island and in Alfred Robinson's Life in California. The Santa Fe Trail to California a journal written by H.M.T. Powell, has the earliest view of the Missions, while Carter's Missions of Nueva California contains a photo taken in the 70's.

Among the works which can be classed properly as historical, Engelhardt's are by the far the best. A few scattered references are found in Hittell's History of California and in A History of Coast Counties of California by Giunn. A History of Monterey, Santa Cruz and San Benito Counties, California and Shea's Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States have but brief references to San Juan Bautista. A History of San Benito County, a memorial octavo edition published by a San Francisco firm in 1881, has quite a bit devoted to our subject. Information on the dialect of the San Juan Indians may be gained from a grammar of the Mutsun language by Father Arroyo de la Cuesta ^{S.F.M.} written in the early days of the Mission and published under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution in 1861. The University

of California's publication, American Archaeology and Ethnology refers to this grammar.

General information providing background for our study may be secured from Bancroft's History of California which is exceedingly biased; Forbe's California, A History of Upper and Lower California which quotes the inaccurate remarks of Beechey; California and Its Missions by Clinch; History of Oregon and California by Greenhow; New Spain by Humboldt; Palou's Historical Memoirs of New California recently edited by Bolton; History of California, edited by Z.S. Eldredge; Mission Tales in the Days of the Dons by Mrs. Forbes, as well as California Missions and Landmarks by the same author; Mission Days of Alta California by Holway which contains a photo of the statue of Saint John the Baptist; California Trails by Hall which offers a good photo of the Mission's interior; Adobe Days by Sarah Bixby Smith which contains an account of the early days at Rancho San Justo just outside of the village of San Juan Bautista.

In addition to studying the books mentioned, the writer has spent many inspiring days at San Juan Bautista Mission, assisting in the same priestly ministrations as those performed by the Padres. During this time he has had an opportunity to look into every corner of the buildings and grounds. He has tried to catch the fragments of information about the San Juan Indians which are hidden in the memories of the few remaining descendants of the original neophytes and to trace the rise and fall of this

most interesting mission whose fortune has been so varied.

Sincere thanks are due to Rev. Francis J. Caffrey M.M., pastor of the Mission and to his helper Brother Louis Reinhart, M.M., two Maryknollers, whose generous cooperation is hereby acknowledged, as well as to Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., for his assistance in straightening out some of the perplexing details, to Mr. Benito Sanchez, for his suggestions as to sources of Indian lore and to Rev. Henry Woods, S.J., for his helpful supervision.

THE RISE AND FALL
OF
MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
CALIFORNIA

Remote Causes of Establishment.

In Christ's final instructions to His Apostles, given during the last few moments before His ascension into heaven, Our Saviour gave the command which has been the inspiration of the Church through all the centuries: 'Going, therefore, teach ye all nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' (1) These words comprise His last will and testament. The fact that they were reserved for the official farewell of the Founder of Christianity, shows their importance.

The first bishops of the Church, fired with Pentecostal zeal, made plans for the evangelization of the world. But objections arose. "And the Apostles and brethren who were in Judea heard that the Gentiles also had received the Word of God and when Peter was come up to Jerusalem they.....contended with him." (2) Saint Peter as first Pontiff settled the dispute regarding the identity of the nations which were to receive the Gospel. The Catholic Faith was not to be confined to the Jewish

people.

"God hath shewed to me to call no man common or unclean," he said. (3) "God is not a respecter of persons but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh justice is acceptable to Him." (4) Christ had meant exactly what He had said, "Teach all nations." In accordance with that unmistakeable command St. Peter went to Rome. Likewise St. Paul, specially-elected missionary to the foreigners, braved perils of the deep and imprisonment to go the length of the Master's vineyard.

For years he had wanted to bring about the conversion of distant Spain (5) and finally was able to reach his objective. (6) There he laid the foundation of the Faith which in later years was to produce other Pauls, other preachers of the Word who also would cross seas and endure bodily torment in obedience to the Ascension Day command.

On May 9, 1493 in the bull "Inter Cetera" Pope Alexander VI instructed King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain to send teachers of the Catholic faith to the newly discovered islands and continents. (7) On November 16, 1501 the Pontiff gave to the Spanish Crown the tithes and first fruits of the New World provided of course that the King would attend to the physical wants of the missionaries. (8) Seven years later (July 28, 1508) Pope Julius II agreed that no church, monastery or pious institute should be erected or founded in the places acquired or to be acquired without the consent of the Crown. He gave to

the King also, the right of patronage (*jus patronatus*), that is, of presenting persons for various Sees and of bestowing all other ecclesiastical benefices. As a result of this arrangement not even an oratory or chapel could be erected without the express permit of the King, the viceroy or governor. (9) The power granted to the King practically was pontifical. The Crown did not wait for Papal confirmation of nominations. (10) Boundaries of dioceses were moved at will. The kings could nominate persons for every office, even that of a mere sacristan if they so desired. They reprimanded, recalled to Spain, or even banished ecclesiastics, not sparing bishops who, while they might disagree with governors, always heeded the voice of kings. (11)

What made this "patronato" especially obnoxious was the fact that the representatives of the King in New Spain, namely, the viceroy, the governor or even subordinate commanders took unto themselves the privileges of the king and insisted that the representatives of the Church were to take orders from them not only in secular matters but ecclesiastical as well. The priests sometimes were obliged to postpone even religious ceremonies until the representative of the king could be present. (12)

In 1519 Hernando Cortés and his little army entered Mexico. Rev. Juan Diaz, a secular priest and Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Trinitarian, accompanied him as chaplains. In 1521 having subdued the Mexicans, Cortés asked the Pope and the Emperor to send missionaries. Emperor

Charles V. called for volunteers from among the Orders. The Belgian Franciscans sent three a year later, the first priests to preach Christianity among the natives of Mexico. (13)

California was discovered by one of Cortés' sailors in 1533. (14) Cortés himself landed, May 3, 1535, on the southeast coast of what is now known as Lower California. He was accompanied by Franciscan friars including Fr. Martin de la Coruña, who hoped to preach the Gospel to the savages. (15) It is believed that in 1565, two Augustinian friars were the first priests to see Upper California or what is now California proper. (16) Later, in 1602, three Carmelite Fathers accompanied Vizcaino when he discovered San Diego, Catalina and Monterey. (17)

For more than one hundred and fifty years after Vizcaino's death, the Spaniards had little to do with the west coast of California. Attracted by gold and pearls which individual adventurers brought back to Mexico from California, Viceroy Pacheco, in 1642, sent an expedition, headed by Luis Cestín de Cañas to California. Cañas asked the Jesuits to send a chaplain with him, which they did. (18) Gradually the Jesuits extended their missions throughout the southern peninsula until there were sixteen Jesuit Fathers at work. (19) In 1767 the Jesuits were unjustly expelled from Spain and a year later they were obliged to withdraw from California.

The Franciscan missionary college of San Fernando, in Mexico City was requested to send priests to fill the

sixteen vacancies. Only twelve could be sent, and so the remainder of the missions were placed in the care of secular clergy.

Fr. Junipero Serra was appointed as superior of the California missions. He had had nine years of successful work among the Mexicans at the capital city. He immediately set about to organize the Franciscan work on the lower peninsula. In 1768 Don José de Galvez, inspector general, made known a command received from the royal court, through the viceroy, which ordered him to take possession of San Diego and Monterey. This territory rightfully belonged to Spain through its discovery by Vizcaino, 160 years before. However the Spanish Crown had failed to establish authority over the district which now was threatened with invasions by the Russians. When he published the command, the inspector asked that missions be established at the two above-mentioned ports. Fr. Serra offered to accompany the expedition, (20) although as padre presidente of the missions of Lower California he could not found missions in another territory without the consent of the missionary college of San Fernando. However, Don José de Galvez, as representative of the king, had complete jurisdiction over the Franciscans and Father Serra probably thought it wise to comply with that official's request without incurring his wrath by waiting. Padre Serra arrived at San Diego on July 1, 1769 (21). His later correspondence with the college authorities shows that they were not pleased with his hasty and

certainly irregular action. (22)

On July 16, feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the mission at San Diego was founded by Father Serra. On December 13, 1769 (23) Fr. Palou returned from a trip to San Francisco Bay. He reported in his journal, written in 1774, (24) that he passed six sites suitable for missions, among them, the valley of St. Paschal Baylon near the entrance to the Canada de San Benito. This is the first reference to the district in which the subject of this dissertation is located. The following year, on June 3, 1770, Father Serra said Mass on the shore of Monterey Bay, after which Don Gaspar de Portolá took possession in the name of the King. Mission San Carlos was then officially established.

On March 20, 1772 Captain Pedro Fages and Father Crespi set out from Monterey with a company of soldiers and Indians to found a mission at San Francisco, lest the district be occupied by foreigners who most probably were the Russians. The expedition named the Salinas river Rio Santa Delfina, and the next day reached an arroyo which they named the San Benito, a name which it bears to the present day. Bancroft (25) thinks they were near the site of the present town of Hollister. They then went northeast across what is now called the San Benito valley and camped a little north of Gilroy (26). "To my mind," Father Crespi wrote, "this extensive valley is very suitable for a large mission. I gave it the name of San Bernardino de Sienna in order that he might intercede with the Divine Majesty

for the conversion of these numerous gentiles."

About August 1772 (27) word was received that the College of San Fernando had ceded all of the missions of Lower California to the Dominican Fathers, which action released a number of experienced religious for Northern California. Four immediately were dispatched to the north for the purpose of staffing missions at San Francisco and Santa Clara.

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Proximate Causes.

On May 23, 1795 in San Fernando College, Mexico City, a chapter of the Franciscan Fathers was held for the purpose of increasing the number of Northern Californian missions so as to diminish the distance between those already existing. (28) It was the plan to have each one of the missions on the highway known as El Camino Real, just one day's journey from neighboring missions. At the time the chapter convened there were five gaps which could not be traversed in a single day obliging the padres en route to sleep in the open.

In October of the same year Governor Diego Borica gave orders to search for sites. (29) Four expeditions of soldiers were sent out, a missionary accompanying each group. The one to which Father Antonio Danti was attached sought a site between San Carlos at Monterey and Santa Clara, a distance of twenty-six leagues. They were to find also a suitable location between Santa Clara and San Francisco. (30)

Father Danti's detachment was under the command of Ensign Hermenegildo Sal and set out from Monterey on November 15, 1795. The following day they reached the banks of the San Benito, 12 leagues from Monterey and 14 leagues from Santa Clara. Between the river bed (which was dry) and El Camino Real they erected a wooden cross on the spot thought most suitable. It was some distance south of the section named San Bernardino by Father Crespi in 1772.

Father Danti sent his report to Fr. Presidente Fermin Francisco de Lasuén who forwarded it with the other reports to Governor Borica under date of January 12, 1796 (31). The reports were sent on to Viceroy Branciforte who consulted with treasury officials and the Administrator of the Pious Fund. On August 19, 1796 he authorized the governor to found five missions. Father Pedro Callejas who was acting Father Guardian on November 12 asked Branciforte to name the missions. The viceroy chose San Miguel Arcangel, San Fernando, Rey de Espana, San Carlos Borromeo, San Antonio Padua, San Luis Rey but when he was informed that two of the names already had been applied to the missions he substituted San José and San Juan Bautista.

On May 19, 1797 the Governor issued instructions to Corporal Ballesteros and five men to help in the establishment of San Juan Bautista mission. The instructions forbade the detailing of soldiers to catch fugitive neophytes. It was suggested that the squad stay in quarters at night although it was not specifically forbidden to leave. By June 17, they had erected a chapel, a house for the missionaries, a granary and a guardhouse. (32)

When all was in readiness Father Presidente Lasuén proceeded to the new site from Mission San José which he had just founded on June 11. He was accompanied by Sergeant Pedro Amador and a guard of soldiers. (33) On the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1797 the Mission formally was established.

From the description of the founding of Monterey

mission, recorded by Fr. Crespi, we may gain a fair idea of the ceremonies attending such an event. He writes "Fr. Presidente vested with alb and stole, all kneeling, then implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost.....and sang the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus." Thereupon he blessed water and with it the great Cross which had been constructed and which all helped to raise and place in position and then venerated. He then sprinkled the whole surroundings..... with holy water in order to drive away all infernal enemies. Thereupon High Mass was commenced.....volleys from the muskets and firearms supplied the lack of musical instruments. At the close of the Holy Mass the Salve Regina was sung.... and then the whole ceremony concluded with the Te Deum Laudamus." (34)

The baptismal record book in Mission San Juan Bautista bears on its title page an account of the first day. The following translation rendered by Father Engelhardt (35) is far superior to that made by representatives of the University of California in 1928 for the Bancroft library.

"Viva Jesus!

First Book of Baptisms of Mission San Juan Bautista, Precursor of Jesus Christ, founded at the expense of the Catholic King of Spain, Carlos IV (God keep him) and by order of his Excellent Lord, the Marquis de Branciforte, Viceroy of New Spain, on the spot called Popeloutchom by the natives, but by our people, from the first discovery, San Benito, commenced on the very day of the Titular Patron Saint, June 24, 1797. On this day I, the undersigned Presidente of the Missions of New California, entrusted by his Majesty to the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, with the assistance of the Rev. Fathers and Preachers Apostolic,

Fr. Magin Catalá and Fr. Jose Manuel de Martiarena, and with the aid of the troops destined to guard the establishment, in the presence of many pagans from the surrounding country, who manifested much pleasure etc., blessed water, the place, and the great Cross, which we planted and venerated. I immediately intoned the Litany of All Saints and sang High Mass during which I preached exhorting all to cooperate for such a holy work. I concluded the function by solemnly singing the Te Deum. May all be for the greater honor and glory of God Our Lord. Amen.

Thus the place is now transformed into the Mission dedicated to the Glorious Precursor of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, Saint John, the Baptist, on his very own day. Furthermore, by authority of the Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, I named as its first missionaries the Reverend Fathers Preachers Apostolic Fr. José Manuel de Martiarena and Fr. Pedro Adriano Martinez (signed) Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuén.

This book consists of 298 folios or leaves for use and numbered, except the first and the last which remain blank."

The Cross referred to now stands in the village cemetery west of the town. Father Martiarena, the first pastor, was a native of Renteria in Guipuzcoa, Spain. He was born in 1754 and in 1788 became a Zacatecas Franciscan. In 1791 however he joined the College of San Fernando and arrived in California in 1794. He was stationed at San Antonio June 1794 to June 1795; at Soledad until May 1797 and at San Juan Bautista until August 1804. He officiated at San Gabriel on October 28, 1804 and seems then to have left for Mexico. (36)

Building operations continued immediately after the opening of the mission. In their first annual report dated December 31, 1797 (37) the fathers mention the completion of a chapel fifteen varas long and six varas wide (41.3 by 16.6 ft.) the erection of a dwelling for the miss-

ioners fourteen by five varas, a granary, a kitchen, a house for single women, a guard house and quarters for the soldiers. Perhaps some of these were the buildings finished before Father Lasuén arrived.

Another adobe granary, 146 feet long was erected during 1798. A third was started in 1801 and finished in 1802. Two years later foundations were laid for the church edifice and an effort made to close, with buildings and a wall, the great quadrangle.

The exact location of the mission buildings was not known accurately until 1931 when a map was found in the Mission which had been made by Herman Ehrenberg in November 1849. It threw new light on the bits of family traditions and scraps of information brought down through the years by the old settlers. According to the map the church formed one side of a great square. From the two buildings behind it a wall stretched west to the middle of what is now the next village block. At that point it turned at right angles and passed back of the Mission Hotel property to the middle of Mariposa street where, again turning, it passed between the sites of the two hotels and joined the arched arcade or cloister.

An old tradition in the village brought down by the Ánzar and Zanetta families, who lived in the old hotel building, was that the first buildings of the Mission occupied the ground of the Castro home and the Plaza Hotel. Where the Zanetta stables and house stand was a large L-shaped adobe building, the map shows. It was razed pro-

bably because it stood in the way of the proposed street. Some distance back of the Zanetta residence in what was the Taix property (in 1931) a long narrow building for neophytes was erected, crossing the present extension of Franklin street. In 1851 the building was roofless, (38) in 1881 it was a crumbling ruin and in 1931 just grass-covered mounds with bits of tell-tale tile lying about. Another occupied by the Castros, who said it had been intended for a convent (probably a monjerío or nunnery as the apartment for girls was called) was located in the block bounded by Third, Franklin, Tualalami and Fourth streets.

A plot reserved for the church is indicated in the map between the unopened extensions of Washington and Mariposa streets. Two mounds in that field indicate the location of the tile kilns.

It took nine years to build the church and not fifteen, as many authors say. In the baptismal record book is noted the blessing of the cornerstone (after entry No. 1126):

"On June 13, 1803, our Catholic Monarch and Lord, Don Carlos IV (God keep him) ruling over the Spanish Dominions, His Excellency Don José de Iturrigaray being Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of the Dominion of New Spain, Lieutenant-Colonel Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga being Governor ad interim of the Peninsula of California Alta, the Presidente of the Missions being the Rev. Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and the Rev. Fathers José Manuel de Martiarena and Domingo Iturrate being the missionaries in charge of the mission of San Juan Bautista, there took place the blessing and laying of the cornerstone of the new church which was begun on the same festival day at four o'clock in the afternoon. At this solemnity there assisted the Rev. Fr. José Viader, missionary of Santa Clara, Don José de la Guerra y Noriega.

ensign of the cavalry at the presidio of Monterey, as patron; the Captain Don José Font, and the Surgeon of the same presidio, Don Juan de Dios Morelos and the sergeant of the royal artillery, José Umueta. In the hollow of this first stone various silver coins of all denominations were placed and to their right a roll sealed with wax and, within, the paper containing this description and by the authorization of the constitution they established it (y para su constancia lo firmaron)." The document is signed by the celebrant and the four laymen.

The report for the following year, 1804, shows that the foundations were completed in that twelve-month. On June 3, 1809, the large wooden statue of St. John the Baptist, now over the main altar, was placed in the sacristy which was being used for a temporary chapel. (39) The annual reports show that by the end of 1811 the roof had been put in place.

To build the church was no simple task. The structure is 188 feet long and 72 feet wide, outside measurements. Its walls are three feet thick and made of adobe. From Father Tapis' statistics of the construction at Santa Barbara mission we learn that "nine men will make 360 adobes a day" and "sixteen young men with two women to bring sand and straw make 500 tiles a day." To this slow process was added the laziness of the Indians. Father Venegas describes the trials of the builder-priests:

"The Indians never entirely shook off their inborn love for idleness and they would not make a step unless they saw the Father work more than all of them. Hence he was first to pitch stones, tread clay, mix sand, cut, carry and prepare lumber, remove earth and arrange materials. (40)to make bricks he made himself a boy with boys challenging them to play with the earth and to dance upon the clay. The Father

would take off his shoes and would go upon the moist clay and tread it; soon the boys would tread it with him. Then a dance would begin when all would be jumping and dancing upon the clay and the Father with them." (41)

After Baptism No. 1963, which occurred on July 1, 1812, the solemn blessing of the new church is recorded:

"On the twenty-third day of the month of June in the year 1812, during the reign over Spain of our Monarch Don Fernando VII, (God keep him many years) and during the rule as Viceroy and Governor and Captain General Francisco Venegas, Lieutenant-Colonel Don José Joaquin de Arrillaga being Governor of this Province of Alta California, the Very Rev. Fr. Estévan Tapis being Presidente of these Missions and the Rev. Fathers Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta and Roman Fernandez de Ullibarri being the missionaries in charge of this mission San Juan Bautista, there was celebrated the blessing of the new church at which solemnity the Rev. Missionary Fathers of Our Father San Francisco, Santa Clara and San José assisted. The Patron was Don Manuel Gutiérrez, citizen of the Pueblo de los Angeles of this Alta California. In witness whereof we sign, Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta--Manuel Gutiérrez." (41-a)

The Church Edifice.

We now come to an interesting discussion regarding the original plan of the church and the intentions of the builders. We shall first describe the building as it stands today, then quote the opinions of several writers and finally give our own findings in the matter.

The mission is laid out in two wings. In front, to the left of the church and at right angles to it is a long, low cloister, which gives a cool shade to the living quarters and forms one side of the village plaza. Behind the church proper are two separate adobe structures, one

the original chapel later utilized as a school and the other used in 1915 as a hayloft.

The church is rectangular. The façade is plain with a large square window over the main doorway. The side aisles which do not extend as far forward as the nave, form an angle on either side of the entrance. In one, a magnificent century plant has reached tremendous proportions. In the other is a modern tower which has nothing in common, architecturally, with the Mission.

On entering the edifice we find ourselves beneath the balcony. To the left an arch with huge doors leads into the baptistery. To the right a similar aperture opens into a room of corresponding size in which are modern wooden stairs leading to the choir loft. A side door beyond opens out into the cemetery.

The walls of the nave are built in arches which have been filled. On either side, the two front arches, nearest the sanctuary, are open and disclose side altars, one to the Blessed Virgin, and the other to St. Vibiana. Both outside walls of the church fell during the 1906 earthquake and left the side aisles exposed to the elements. The filled arches, however, protect the inside of the church. James says:

"These walls are divided into arches--seven on a side-- evidencing the thoughts in the minds of the original builders. It was their expectation that the church would have to be enlarged into a three-aisle structure as soon as the enlarged attendance of the Indians demanded the extra space. The founder of San Juan had great visions and hopes for the future.

The country was thickly populated with Indians and the success of the mission is shown in the large number of baptisms in so short a time.. Doubtless had the original plans been carried out, San Juan would have been developed architecturally and have become a much more imposing building than it is. The sixth and seventh arches on the left side open into a side chapel in which is an altar to the virgin, also a confessional. The walls throughout are white-washed; yet here and there a small patch of the original mural decoration may be seen in a brownish, red, green and light green as on the farther side of the seventh arch. There is a corresponding chapel in the sixth and seventh arches on the opposite side." (42)

Newcomb, an architect, offers two solutions:

"In plan the church proper with its long, narrow nave and side chapels is cruciform. The lateral walls of the nave are composed of arcades of brick carried upon piers, the arches of which have been filled in with curtain-walls of adobe masonry, thus cutting off completely the side-aisles which flank the nave. From internal evidence it would seem that the padres found no need of the side aisles at the time the structure was occupied, and, as a consequence, had them cut off or else that the arches were blinded when the structure was built, with the idea of making the church a three-aisled basilica as the population demanded. At any rate it appears that only the first two bays of the aisles were utilized and these as side chapels. The aisles appear more as long flanking corridors than as integral parts of the church. But this arrangement is absolutely unique in mission architecture and is the nearest approach to a three-aisled basilica in the whole mission chain." (43)

Father Engelhardt says:

".....in the course of time the outer walls of the side aisles....owing to excessive moisture in the ground became unsafe and eventually collapsed. As the center nave, due to the decrease of the Indian population, proved roomy enough, the space between the pillars was filled with adobe bricks.....When this change took place we have been unable to discover." (44)

Father Engelhardt's theory that the arches were filled in after the outer walls collapsed seems to be refuted by the report of the secularization commissioners,

which was countersigned by Padre Anzar in May 1835 in which we read "then there are on both sides of the nave from the transept down for a distance of fifty varas, in succession, six varas in width, six apartments or chapels, the roof of which is of tiles, the outer wall adobe, the ceiling of planed boards." (45) This statement shows that the outer walls were standing in 1835. They were still standing in 1906. A photograph, taken immediately after the 1906 earthquake (and but recently discovered) shows clearly the debris and the transverse walls which divided the side aisle into apartments.

Next we consider the opinion of James, suggested also by Newcomb and repeated by others, namely, that the Padres filled the arches at the time of building, with the idea of opening them and enlarging the church when the Catholic population increased. We might ask, what would be the advantage in filling the arches? When it was so difficult to make bricks and to force the Indians to labor, why should the Padres undertake the task of filling ten great openings merely because the number of converts was not large enough to fill the church? Would not the larger edifice make a greater impression upon the neophytes? Had the arched walls been the exterior sides of the church the later-enlargement theory would stand. However, we know that the entire structure was put up at once. Why and when were the arches filled?

Mr. and Mrs. P. E. Guadalupe Ánzar, residents in the village of San Juan Bautista give us the answer. Mr. Ánzar, who died in 1932, was the nephew of Padre José Antonio Ánzar, who was at the Mission from 1833 to 1854. Guadalupe's mother was a daughter of General Castro and wife of Juan Ánzar. Soon after Guadalupe was born, in 1851, in a building where the Plaza Hotel now stands, his father died and four years later his mother passed away. The lad was raised by his grandmother who told him much of the history and traditions of the Mission, in the living quarters of which the Ánzar family resided. Mrs. Ánzar who was born in 1853, was a Zanetta, another old San Juan family, and before her marriage to Ánzar was the widow of William Breen, a member of the famous Donner party which crossed the plains in prairie schooners.

"My grandmother used to say that Padre Ánzar told her that the church originally had been a three-aisle structure but in 1812 there was a terrible earthquake which made the Padres fear that the building would collapse and so they filled the arches in order to reinforce the walls," Ánzar said.

According to Father Engelhardt, "the same year, 1812, will be forever memorable as the year of earthquakes. The wildest terror prevailed in the territory from Mission Purisima to Mission San Juan Capistrano" (46) It was on Sunday morning, December 8, 1812, that the earthquake was

felt along the entire length of the mission chain (47) Capistrano was completely demolished.

But Father Engelhardt points out (48) that the church as finished was wider than the church for which the cornerstone was laid. The side aisles are mentioned for the first time in the 1809 report. It is logical to suppose that after the stone was blessed the side aisles were added as an afterthought to the plans and not as an afterthought to the completed structure. Finished by 1809 they were curtained off three years later when the building was threatened by the weakening of the arches.

As to the mural decorations, fragments of which may still be seen, James describes the one on the seventh arch, next to the Communion rail on the Gospel side. (49) This however, is not an original piece of Indian work, according to the Ánzars. It was an attempt at restoration made by a man named Munch, who was a teacher at the Mission School during the pastorate of Father Rubio. (1865-78) It was Munch who painted the false ceiling which is still in place. His mural efforts were stopped by Father Rubio. Bits of original decorations in red and blue may be found, however, on the south wall of the side aisle, between the gap and the patio wall. Similar traces are on one of the curtain-walls which fill the arches. They suggest that the side aisle was used after the arches were filled, because it does not seem logical that the Padres would have

decorated the walls on an unused section. Another bit of the mural coloring is visible on a section of curtain-wall passed as one ascends the adobe stairway which leads to the belfry. The stairs evidently are a later addition and connect the side aisle with the floor above the baptistery. From this section a door opens into the choir loft. Judging from its casing this door undoubtedly was part of the original plan. It is now boarded over and the modern wooden stairs on the opposite side of the church are used to reach the balcony. Mrs. Ánzar remembers that when she sang in the choir they used the adobe stairs. But, evidently since the steps were not in the original building, it is a question how the choir loft was reached.

We try now to visualize the original plan of the front of the church by reconstructing it mentally from a careful examination of the walls. As previously stated, on either side were two rooms, the width of the aisles, one the baptistery and the other a passage to the cemetery. Above these were rooms of corresponding size, accessible from the choir loft. Both second-floor rooms had arched openings looking down upon the side aisles of the church. The arches have since been curtained with adobe. The room on the Gospel side opened into the attic of the living quarters.

In the early days there was no tower. A careful examination of the masonry shows but two ways to have

reached the balcony. One was by a wooden ladder or stairs in the nave. Old settlers say that Father Ubach, during his pastorate, changed the balustrade in the choir loft and he thus would have destroyed any traces of such a stairway.

Architects who have examined the north wall of the choir loft point to faint indications of a closed doorway which might have led to an outdoor stairway of adobe or wood in the northeast angle of the edifice. No other suggestion of the stairs can be found.

We are not sure of the use of the south aisle. In Mrs. Ánzar's time, furniture was stored in some of the six rooms. An old San Juan Indian reported that Las Premicias, the first fruits of the various harvests which were brought to the Padres, were kept there.

We are in possession of a greater amount of data on the north aisle. It served as a mortuary chapel. A door led from it to the cemetery. According to the records four thousand Indians are buried in the cemetery under the olive trees. Excavations have shown more than one body in a grave. Mylar writes:

"I remember seeing them bury some of those Indians...

...In digging the grave they found it necessary to remove the bones of some former Indian who was buried close by the grave or possibly interred in the grave... When the coffin or body was laid in its earthen receptacle, the bones were carefully replaced alongside the person buried." (50)

The cemetery was filled to capacity in 1838 and a new one, the present village Catholic burial ground, was blessed by Father Ánzar on October 24 of that year. (51) The land was donated by Manuel Larios, a corner of it near the road being reserved for the Larios family. The donor is buried there, a great red brick top having been constructed over his grave.

Guadalupe Ánzar tells us that the whites were buried in the north aisle of the church. His mother, Maria Castro, lies there. She died as a result of injuries sustained when she fell from a horse. Hers is the only tombstone although it is not at present over her body. The inscription reads "Sacred to the memory of Maria Antonia Castro, wife of F. A. McDougall, Died. May 30, 1855, aged 28 years." Thousands of tourists visit her grave under the impression that she was the original Rose of the Rancho, immortalized by David Belasco in Richard Walton Tully's play of that name.

Ánzar told how his mother came to have the posthumous distinction thrust upon her. A San Francisco dramatic club desired to present the Belasco play in the orchard to the north of the mission. The play originally was called "Juanita of San Juan". In the opinion of the players the pastor asked too large an amount of money for the privilege and the proposition fell through. "Maggie" the housekeeper who guided visitors through the mission secured her inspiration from the event, added a bit of

local color to her official patter and thus started the legend which has since been commonly accepted as history.

In the mortuary chapel there is part of a window which is typical of those which were in both side walls. After the arches were closed, the only light came from the six clear-story windows and the one back of the balcony. Next to the Virgin's altar and to the one in honor of St. Vibiana are two large windows which extend from the ceiling to the floor. They were built after the 1906 earthquake. Near the window in front of the Blessed Virgin's altar are buried some of the leading citizens of San Juan Bautista. Others lie under the center aisle. The floor which was laid in 1816 is of red tile resting on sand. It is unusually resilient. In front of the above-mentioned altar as well as half way back in the center aisle and again near the baptismal font, can be seen imprints of animals' feet, doubtless made when the tile was moist.

The font is a huge sandstone vessel which rests on the floor and is forty inches in diameter and twenty-eight inches in height. In front of it is a smaller but similar bowl, $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, used to carry off the sacred water, as it was poured over the heads of the neophytes. Recently a copper baptismal font was discovered in a forgotten corner. It is beautifully made without a seam and is twenty-two inches across the mouth. Its history is unknown.

In the room opposite the baptistery is kept a funeral bier. It is nine feet, eleven inches in height and is pyramided in three separate sections. It was placed in the center aisle at requiem Masses. Mrs. Forbes explains it thus:

"It was one of the contrivances to impress the aboriginals. When an Indian chief or very wealthy person died their (sic) body reposed on the top shelf; those of more moderate means and less important station in life were placed in the middle tier, while the common every-day Indian found place on the lower plane." (52)

An examination of the bier shows that it could not have been made in the days of the Padres. It is of modern construction joined with machine-made nails and was used by secular priests in later years as a catafalque at requiem anniversary Masses when special solemnity was desired.

In the walls of the church on either side near the entrance are two holy water fonts, cut out of sandstone and embedded in the adobe. The Stations of the Cross, which arrived at the Mission in 1818, according to the annual report of that year, are marked by large wooden crosses beneath which are the oil paintings. At the twelfth station are three crosses. All of the paintings including those of the Apostles, which are hung between the stations, are obscured by dust and soot. This was caused undoubtedly by the bracket candlesticks which until 1906 were affixed beneath each station. One of the old residents says that it was his delight as a boy to

light these candles before Lenten services. The brackets fell down in the earthquake of 1906 and up to the present time no trace of them has been found at the Mission. Modern pews occupy the front half of the nave. They were installed by Father Rubio (1865-78).

Opposite the altar of St. Vibiana is an historic confessional. Indians confessed their sins in the open while the priest sat in the box. Curtains have since been hung around the places for the penitents, as a modern concession.

All the walls in the church are whitewashed and have been as long as present residents remember. Consequently the only object which gives us an idea of the original colors of the interior decorations is the reredos. As was the case in all the missions, the reredos was the most prominent feature of the church and centered all attention upon the Sacrifice. It was completed in 1818, the report shows. Chavez, a painter, demanded six reals or seventy-five cents a day, which the limited finances of the Mission could not afford. Felipe Santiago, a Yankee sailor from Boston called Thomas Doc (sic) undertook the painting. He was the first American to land in California (53) and was a Protestant, son of John Doc and Johanna Ritchie. He was baptized in 1816 at Mission San Carlos, Monterey, and was permitted to establish himself in California by a decree of the Count of Venadito, Viceroy, issued October 20, 1819 (54) Father Arroyo

at San Juan Bautista, performed the ceremony which united him in marriage to Maria Lugarda Castro, daughter of Mariano Castro and Maria Josefa Romero. (55)

James lists the statues in the reredos as follows: Our Lady of Guadalupe, top center; Saint Anthony top left; Saint Isadore of Madrid, top right; San Juan Bautista, bottom center; Saint Francis, left bottom; Saint Bonaventure right bottom. The painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe to which he refers was hung on a side wall in 1928. Until that year it covered the top center niche as is shown by a photo in Newcomb's architectural study. A shelf which supported it is still in place.

The corrected list of statues is as follows: top center, St. Dominic; top Gospel side, St. Anthony; top Epistle side, St. Francis of Assisi; bottom Gospel side, St. Isadore; bottom Epistle side, St. Paschal Baylon. All the statues are carved of wood, are painted and are half the natural size, excepting that of San Juan, which is life-size. The patron of the Mission holds a cross and there is a big-eared lamb standing at his left side. The statue of St. Anthony was loaned to San Juan Bautista mission by Fr. Antonio Jayme of La Soledad mission. His successor, Fr. Juan Cabot, made the transfer permanent on July 13, 1823 (56). St. Isadore, patron of farmers, carries a handful of grain and St. Paschal holds an ostensorium to indicate his love for the Blessed Sacrament. The niches are backed with red cloth. Each row has a platform behind it reached by steep ladders which lead to the roof above the false

ceiling, the latter having been built under Father Rubio's direction to prevent dust and bits of adobe from falling on the congregation. The three large chairs for celebrant and ministers are the handiwork of the Indians. In 1933 the termite-infected sections were removed and replaced with solid wood.

The reredos is painted in yellow, red and green. Its tones have been dulled considerably by a coat of shellac probably put on by Munch. From the pattern it can be seen that the present sanctuary flooring was put in at a higher level than the original. The altar then, as now, was several feet in front of the reredos, permitting passage through a door which leads to the ladders. The present altar is of modern construction. Until 1931 it was white and gold and out of harmony with the remainder of the sanctuary. It was then colored in imitation of the reredos. The tabernacle is of gilded wood in Spanish style. Above it is an aged crucifix, the corpus nailed to a cross formed from a branch of a tree. On either side of the altar near the bottom of the reredos is a circular Colonial mirror, an aid, no doubt to the Padres in keeping their eyes on the Indians. This surveillance, together with that possible from the choir loft and from the second floor arches which looked upon the side aisles, made it possible for the priests to observe the conduct of their charges.

The mirrors also gave rise to an Indian legend that the Padres had eyes in the backs of their heads.

In the ceiling over the altar is painted a human eye framed by a triangle. The eye of course, suggests God's Omnipresence, the triangle indicates the Eternal Trinity.

Father Estévan Tapis lies buried in the floor of the sanctuary. The inscription on the marble slab which covers him reads:

"Hic jacet venerabiles exuviae Adm.Rev.Stephani Tapis, OSF qui olim Praeses Californiae Superioris Omnium Missionum istiusque fuit Minister Vixit Annos LXIX in OSF XLVIII in Presbyteratu XLIV in America XL et in California XXXV Honorifice explevit Obiit III Nonas Novembris AD MDCCCXXV R.I.P."

About 1880 a carpenter, named Usher, repaired the floor above the grave. When the slab was removed the body of Father Tapis could be seen, apparently perfectly preserved. The children from the parish school were brought into the Church and allowed to look. One of them had a shoe-button in her hand which she dropped into the grave, accidentally or through curiosity. The tiny object hit the corpse's face, which collapsed in ashes.

Sacristies on either side of the sanctuary are reached through huge doorways, each with a niched door head. The doors themselves are eight feet in height and swing noiselessly on pivots of iron set in iron sockets. Wooden pegs were used for nails. In the sacristy the vesting cases stand shoulder high, with deep, wide drawers. A metal lavabo drains on to a piece of tree trunk which carries the water through the wall to the ground. In the back wall of each sacristy, an adobe-curtained arch shows that originally the church was connected with the hall

which extends across the back of the sanctuary. After it had served as a chapel, this large room was used as a school. It too, has four doorways and as many cabinets built into the walls. It is interesting to see throughout the Mission, doorways with arches resting on moulded imposts, grilles of turned wood, spindles in doors and window casements, chiseled grooves in the beams and rounded beam-ends, all of which bespeak the desire of the Padres to do things well.

---- The Indians of San Juan Bautista. ----

The next question which naturally arises is: Of what sort were the Indians for whom this church was erected?

They were Mutsun Indians (57). Duflot de Mofras says that at San Juan Bautista there were Indians belonging to more than fifteen different tribes. The writer discovered at the Mission a little notebook kept by Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta in which he compiled a record of all the neophytes according to their tribes. The list which has never been published as such, is complete. It is signed by Fr. Arroyo, the only time his signature appears in Latin instead of Spanish. The twenty tribes he records are as follows: Nopthrinthre, Eyulahuas, Copcha, Quihueths, Cutoso, Chanecha, Chausila, Geuche, Huohual, Hualquemne, Notoaliths, Cothsmejait, Achila, Thrayapthre, Quithrathre, Sileleamne, Cucunu, Pitcathre, Siuesianthre, Pufoyanthre. Father Engelhardt lists twenty-seven tribes.(58)

We marvel at the zeal of the Missioners which permitted them to overcome the difficulties of language. Father Lasuén reckoned that between San Diego and San Francisco there were not less than seventeen entirely different languages spoken, not counting dialects. (59) Fr.Engelhardt tells us that

"there was scarcely one mission whose neophytes all used the same language. At some of these establishments several totally different tongues were represented accordingly as the converts hailed from different rancherias, often not more than ten leagues distant.....Besides the discouraging multiplicity of languages, the missionaries found themselves face to face with another formidable obstacle--- the lack of adequate terms in the native jargon to explain the mysteries of Religion. The embarrassment increased with the founding of every new mission, for that meant one or more additional dialects or distinct languages with the same dearth of suitable words. The rude California savage's thoughts moved only within range of what is material. He had no conception of things spiritual. Hence his vocabulary included only such words as referred to material things." (60)

Father Venegas describes the suffering of a poor missionary when he discovered that during a course of instruction which he was giving, much merriment was caused by the mistakes he made in the use and pronunciation of words. Thereafter "he took more pains to inform himself.... by taking children for his teachers, because he had noticed that the grown people besides showing themselves unwilling deceived him in order to ridicule him afterwards." (61)

Fr.Felipe Arroyo collected 2884 words, phrases and sentences of the Mutsun Indians and compiled a grammar of their language which is a branch of the Costanoan speech. The grammar appears as Vol.IV and VIII (1861-62) of the

Library of American Linguistics and "forms one of the fullest and most complete collections of data on a Pacific Coast language." (62) It was also published in 1861 by the Cramoisy Press, New York, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution.

According to common belief, he was able to hear Confessions in thirteen dialects. Recent investigations of the San Juan language have been made by J.P. Harrington, of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Harrington is a member of the Bureau of American Ethnology and spent several months, previous to her death, in the home of Mrs. Ascencion Solorsano de Cervantes, a San Juan Indian who spoke the dialect. He was able to catalogue the language and according to a statement which he gave to the press, it is similar in many respects to Japanese.

The difficulties of language were evidently somewhat lessened at San Juan Bautista for we read in the answer of the Padres to the interrogatorio of 1812:

"The Indians of this mission and of this region speak the language of the district in which they were born, and, although apparently of distinct idioms these languages are not different except accidentally, that is to say, in some terms, in the terminations and in the rough or agreeable, sweet or strong pronunciation. Hence it is that the Indians in a circumference of forty or fifty leagues understand one another." (63)

The San Juan Indians, who called themselves the Ama tribe, had the five vowels in their language. There was a legend of the Great Flood among them. Tomahawks were not used by them. Instead of tribal wars they en-

gaged in family feuds which lasted for generations. Girls were given in marriage by their fathers who practically sold them. Once married, the woman, while performing the menial tasks of the family, had an equal footing with the man in tribal law. The San Juan Indians worshipped one God "Hole" (64)

There was only one full-blooded San Juan Indian living in 1932 (he died in August 1932) but there were still a few existing, who had one parent from the Mission. They are to be found in Monterey, Watsonville and other nearby sections. They recall legends learned at the knees of their grandparents and can repeat practical lessons taught by Indians who lived with the Padres.

They tell us that the San Juan Indians were called the Westerners by other tribes because they were the farthest west of their group. Before the advent of the priests, the Indians never practiced agriculture. Their method of obtaining food is interesting.

Pinole de carne was their favorite dish of squirrel meat. They would locate a tree in which the squirrels lived, would cover all the holes in the tree with manure and then light a fire at the bottom of the tree. With a flat basket (batea) they would fan the fire constantly so that a great deal of smoke was produced. If any smoke leaked out of the tree they would climb up and stop the vent. When the fire had burned out they would cover the hole where the fire had been and then wait a while so

that the squirrels inside would be thoroughly overcome. When the holes were uncovered the squirrels usually were found at the mouth of the hole, dead.

At home the Indians would singe the hair and then rub it from the body with a stick cut like the blade of a knife. Then they would remove the entrails and wash the meat well, after which they roasted it thoroughly. Next the cooked body, bones and all, was put in a stone mortar (almires) and mashed with a stone pestel until all was about as fine as coarse flour. Several of these mortars and pestels are still to be seen in the Mission. After the pulverizing, the pinole was ready to eat with atole of acorns or corn.

Another favorite dish considered a delicacy was pil, the black seeds from wild pansies. A pot (olla or oya) was filled with white sand and placed on three rocks. A bed of red coals heated the pot. The seeds were parched by being placed in the hot sand. The whole procedure required unlimited patience because it was necessary to have a steady hot glow from the coals instead of flames. The seeds were stirred with a scoop called "wallie hin."

The yerba del pescado or fish-herb provided an easy way in which to catch fish. It could be used only in a still pool. The leaves of the herb were placed in a cloth sack and crushed with a stone. The bag was then moved about in the water to spread the juice of the herbs, which acted as an opiate on the inhabitants of the pool.

Soon the top of the water was filled with floating fish, reptiles and every sort of aquatic creature, which the Indians promptly gathered for food.

Another way to catch fish was to line a sack with leaves and to keep the mouth of the bag open with branches. The children would scare the fish, some of which would swim into the camouflaged bag and be caught.

The answers to the interrogatorio quoted above also refer to the Indian methods of healing diseases.

"These poor people know nothing about medicine. They indeed cure themselves once in a while with herbs and roots which from experience they know to be beneficial. There are many healers and sorcerers who win many beads for curing and at other times nothing. They have the greater portion of the people deluded. They cure by singing and with gestures and shouts make their superstitious cures. The only case in which they succeed is in bleeding with flint and sucking the blood." (65)

Perhaps the most interesting stories and those which are retained the longest in the Indian family traditions are the accounts of these healers and sorcerers. Some of the Indian herb doctors were not sorcerers in any sense of the word but really had acquired a knowledge of the medicinal properties of many plants. Mrs. Ascencion Solorsano de Cervantes, the last of the full-blooded San Juan Indian women, was an herb specialist of great renown among the Indians. Some of the herbs which she used are

Yerba de la chuparosa (humming bird weed) which was boiled and the lukewarm water used for washing sore eyes.

Gordo lobo (fat sea-lion) boiled and used as a cough medicine.

Yerba de la muela (molar weed)

Renegada (wicked)

Hortiga (nettle) the roots of the nettle were employed as were the leaves of the other two for general medicinal use.

Malva (mallow) leaves and roots were pounded, then boiled and the water used for enema.

Marrubia (horehound) boiled and water used for cough medicine.

Sarsa mora (wild blackberry) roots used to make tonic.

For poultices she sometimes used the white of egg, beaten stiff and mixed with powdered Rose de Castilla (Moss or Mission Rose). For eczema she recommended the milky juice of the golondrina (swallow) herb, a species of fern which grows in damp places.

Her method of making a cast for a broken limb was an ancient Indian one. She boiled the bark and leaves of the elm tree until a thick syrupy gum had formed. This mixture she spread thickly on a piece of buckskin and wrapped it around the fracture which previously had been set. A splint was then tied in place. The next day when the gum had hardened the splint and hide were removed, revealing a cast as hard as a modern plaster-of-paris one.

A novel way of extracting buckshot or stubborn slivers was employed by Maria Esperanza, one of five old women who will be described below. Her grandson (who

relates the story) ran a sliver into his foot, between his toes. It broke off after penetrating for some distance and seemed irremovable. La Esperanza ordered one of the youngsters to capture a lizard. She slit open the animal's underside without perforating the intestines. Then she tied the pulsating interior against the wound. Within an hour the sliver had been drawn out. The wound was then washed with a solution of Yerba del Pasma (lock-jaw herb) and the foot quickly healed.

Indian Sorcerers.

Herb doctors like these women are not to be confused with the sorcerers or witch doctors with which the neighborhood of La Brea abounded. La Brea, the site of asphalt pits which still exist, is located near Sargent station, about seven miles north of the Mission. It was there that the witches or hechiceros as they were called, plied their diabolical craft. According to popular belief the hechiceros threw the victims of their wrath into the bottomless pits of bubbling pitch. The canyon contained many bleached bones and other gruesome reminders of death. One Indian recalls a gigantic hip-bone which, he says, was as large as a horse and was believed to have belonged to a prehistoric monster which had been caught in the tar pits and died of starvation.

The hechiceros or "diabeleros" as they were

sometimes spoken of with fear by the Mission Indians, were supposed to have possessed supernatural power. No Indian maid dared to deny them nor would a mother withhold permission for them to take away her daughter. They had been refused occasionally, so the story runs, and each time they put their curse on the girl and she invariably became blind.

The old Indian women who were gathering nuts or berries in the woods frequently were annoyed by the diabeleros who would suddenly roll themselves in a large ant hill, and by so doing "turn into coyotes or wolves." The squaws would scream, drop their baskets and run. The witch-doctors then would resume their natural form, pick up the baskets and smilingly carry to La Brea the provisions thus acquired.

The most famous of these hechiceros was Madéo, affectionately called Tio by his acquaintances. So great was his fame and power that neighboring tribes sent delegations to ask his assistance. From as far away as Carmel and Soledad they came to seek his advice. The stories told about him indicate that undoubtedly he was able to use diabolical power to deceive the credulous natives. According to St. Augustine, the devil is able so to modify the internal sense that one seems to see things which have no objective reality. Thus are explained the Hindu mango tree and the stabbing to death,

in a basket, of a boy who afterwards appears whole and unharmed. In the same manner can Madéo's tricks be understood.

"We were seated in our ramada (conical house made of branches) cooking our supper over a fire in the middle of the floor," one San Juan Indian related, "when Madéo suddenly appeared in the doorway.

"Have you no meat?' he asked looking at the food which was being prepared.

"'No', we answered. 'We have no meat.'

"'I'll get you some,' Madéo said. We heard him walk around the ramada. Suddenly he started to hop and came jumping into the doorway on one leg. His other leg was detached and he carried it on his shoulder. In an instant he had thrown the leg on the glowing coals where it began to sizzle and fry, as we sat in amazement.

"'There is some meat' he cried. 'Why don't you eat it?'

"'We couldn't eat your leg' someone had courage enough to say. Madéo uttered a loud fiendish laugh and hopped outside the ramada. We looked at the fire. His leg was gone. A moment later he returned with both legs in place.

"'If you do not like my leg, perhaps you will eat my eye' he said laughingly, at which he apparently plucked out his right eye and cast it on the burning embers. The eye began to swell like a balloon and finally exploded.

Madéo uttered a cry and stirred the ashes with a stick. When the dust and smoke had cleared we saw that his eye was back in his head where it should have been.

"Another time we were traveling on horseback across San Joaquin valley, when we came upon several carcasses of steers which evidently had died of thirst. There were two perfect skeletons; the rest were broken into bits. Madéo dismounted and said, 'I'll show you a real torero (bullfighter)!'. He picked up one of the skeletons and sat astride it. Suddenly the skeleton seemed to come to life and he rode it for some distance hanging on for all he was worth as the strange mount reared, bucked and kicked like a live animal. We all believed that he had put a charm on the bones.'

"To cure an attack of cramps Madéo would whip the affected part with the large Ortiga (nettle). He would prescribe a steam bath for rheumatism. A bed about six feet in length and about two feet deep would be dug and the bottom covered with rocks. On the stones would be built a fire of oak chips. When the rocks were very hot, the coals were removed and the stones covered with a layer of six inches of moist wormwood. The patient lay on this bed and was well covered while the steam produced a profuse sweat. When the heat died the patient was wrapped in blankets and later massaged with skunk grease or fat from a coyote or wildcat.

"Another time I had a toothache. Herbs did no good. We sent word to Madéo but he refused to come before

midnight, saying, 'I must consult my superior and I cannot talk to him until after midnight.' Everyone took that to mean that he was going to talk with the devil who can never be seen before midnight. Early in the morning, before dawn, Madéo came, placed his lips against the aching cheek, sucked for a few minutes and the toothache disappeared..

"One night, we were all in our ramadas when we heard the low mournful whistle of the wind. We knew it meant trouble. There was smallpox among the neighboring tribes and we were afraid that it would come to us. We called in Madéo.

"'Don't be afraid,' he said. 'Burn the feathers of the tecolote (hoot owl) and scatter the ashes in the wind. Do the same with the feathers of the carpintero (woodpecker).' We did as he told us and the smallpox did not come."

These legends, which undoubtedly grow in repeated telling, indicate the credulity of the Indians and the reverence which they had for the power of the witches.

The hoot owl, mentioned above, was regarded by the Indians as a messenger of news and a creature of the devil. His hoot in the early part of the evening meant that there would be a change in the weather. If he appeared at that time but did not hoot, it was a portent of bad news. If the bird dropped to the ground and indulged in a dust bath, like a barnyard fowl, the Indians

were filled with great fear. They would send for Madéo, said to be the only Indian among the San Juan tribe who could talk to the owl in his own hoot language.

The feathers of the hoot owl, screech owl, eagle woodpecker, yellow hammer and humming bird were used by the witches for personal adornment.

The hoot of the owl frequently was imitated by the Indians as a secret signal. The leader of a raiding party would send a spy ahead to reconnoiter. He would send back word by his hoots, one call meaning "Here I am"; two calls indicating "I'm watching; nothing to report", etc. The chief, wisely, would not use the hoot of an owl for a reply, for that would arouse the notice of other hearers. Instead he might respond with the yelp of a coyote. As is well known by Boy Scouts and others today, the Indians likewise employed smoke to transmit messages.

The Story of Noyola.

Another famous character among the San Juan Indians was Noyola. He lived on the banks of Carnadero Creek in a little colony which sprang up where Hollister Junction now is. Indians who are alive today remember him well, for he lived to be 112 years of age. Noyola was not a witch although at one time, he admitted, he was tempted to give his soul to the Evil Spirit.

"I was discouraged", he said, "because I was not as good a horseman as I wanted to be. So I went to a place where I thought I could find the devil. It was a spot between La Brea and Los Bancos (the banks) where the witchmen were in the habit of talking to the owls. The spot was later called Betabel (sugar beet) Bluff by the Indians.

"I whistled for the devil and he appeared as a very stylish cavalier, richly dressed and riding a perfectly-groomed black horse. He told me that to be a good rider I must pass three tests. First, I must ride a burro. The devil disappeared and a burro stood in his place. I had no difficulty in riding the little animal, and I noticed that when I was on his back I felt as light as the wind.

"The devil appeared again and pointed out a goat which was caught in the thicket. The goat was larger than the burro and had great twisted horns. I managed to sit on his shoulders holding myself in place under his great horns. The goat bucked worse than the burro and almost snapped off my head. I was quite scared when the devil, who had vanished during the tests, reappeared. He told me that there was one more test. A serpent would come out of the brush and that would be all I should have to undergo. I believed that I should pass this test easily.

"A great snake slid out from the shrubbery and coiled himself at my feet. I stood perfectly still. Gradually the serpent raised its head and uncoiling, elevated himself until he was opposite my face. He put his lips to mine and when I opened my mouth in amazement, he started to put his head inside. I cried out in fear and the snake and the horseman instantly disappeared. I had lost my chance to be a good rider."

Noyola was a great story teller and fortunately one of his auditors, then but a boy, wrote down some of the narratives. The writer was able to secure an interesting account of the famous Indian who was beloved by all of his tribesmen. As Noyola told it, his story was something as follows:

"My mother died when I was five years old and my father died seven years later. I had no known relatives and had to go out in the world to shift for myself. Being only twelve years old when I was left alone I fully realized my loss. We were then living in a log cabin on Pacheco creek. My dear father was always a good provider and so I was left with plenty to eat, sufficient for some time. He also left me two milk cows, a saddle horse, a few chickens, an old musket, three bows and five dozen arrows.

"My father seldom used the musket. He was an expert bowsman. I used to go out hunting with him and gather the arrows for him because we could not afford to lose them, since it took much time and skill to make them. He gave me many lessons in shooting with the bow and arrow. It was nothing for him to bring home a couple of quail and six or seven rabbits every time he went out. So good a marksman was he that if the rabbit was too close he would scare it out and give it a chance to get away so that he could shoot in on the run.

"It was not long before I could do the same. Other Indian boys used to practice every Sunday. We would shoot at a standing target and also throw six or seven buckeye balls into the air and see who could hit the greatest number. We would also roll the balls on the ground or put them in a line, for targets.

"After my father died I could not bear to go out with the other boys for a few weeks. I used to go into my father's empty room, sit down on his bunk, and cry myself to sleep. When I awoke I would go out into the night, look down into the well, watch the reflected stars and listen for the hoot of the owl.

"One night I decided to sell my belongings. I went to our nearest neighbors, two miles away and they agreed to buy the things. I kept only my saddle horse and bows and arrows. Three weeks after my father's death, I set out for San Juan Bautista mission where I knew I should be safe with the Padres. Before leaving, I went to the graves of my dear mother and father and, kneeling beside them, said the few prayers that my mother had taught me. With tears in my eyes, I kissed the two graves and turned toward my new home.

"At San Juan Bautista I met an Indian who spoke my dialect and he escorted me to the head Padre. The Padre also spoke my dialect and soon made me forget that I was a lonely orphan. The first thing he asked me was if I had had any dinner. When he found that

I was hungry he took me to the dining room and gave me a meal of meat, beans, rice, milk and tortillas de maiz. After I had eaten, the kind Padre took me to the office. There I told him the story of my life and he told me that I had found a new home, that God was still my Father and the Blessed Virgin my Mother. I lived at the Mission for five years, during which time I made many friends, among them an old gentleman and his wife who lived on the banks of the San Benito river north of the Mission. It was on their ranchería, when I was seventeen, that I fell in love with an Indian girl named Rosalia.

"I stayed for three years working at the ranchería, or at neighboring places, and all this time I managed to see Rosalia regularly. We became very much attached to one another. When there was little work we would go hunting and fishing together. There were plenty of quail and rabbits, in fact the rabbits were so numerous that the ranch-owners had to light great bonfires at night to keep the animals away from the vegetable gardens. In the Spring, Rosalia and I would go into the hills to gather wild flowers and to dig cacomites, (a species of wild potato). We all longed for cacomite time because all Indians are fond of them, boiled, baked or cooked with game. We found great sport in digging the cacomites. She was better than I at it but once in a while she would let me win and then would say that I was as good at digging them as I was at archery and in playing games and that some day she would have a husband of whom she could be proud. When she said this, she always turned her face away and I would blush.

"Archery and games were the two great pastimes of the Indians in those days. People came from all parts of the surrounding territory to watch the rivalry among the contestants. There were only two Indians who could rival me, thanks to my father's careful training. One was Miguel Solorsano of San Juan Bautista and the other was an Indian from Soledad. I never learned his name but they called him El Berendo (the antelope). He was the fleetest runner I have ever seen. He made a great deal of money winning the races which were always held around the twenty-fourth of June, feast of St. John the Baptist. The games usually started on June 22nd and continued for three days. There was a great deal of betting in connection with the races, wagering not only of money but of jewelery and even saddle horses. I always took part in the games and races

and Rosalia would be there to cheer me on. Rosalia was the champion among the women when it came to handling the bow and arrow.

"The great climax to the celebration was the famous relay race. Three teams usually were entered, one from San Juan Bautista, one from the nearby rancharía and the third from Soledad. The course was to a point nine miles away and return. Each runner at the end of the race would have completed six miles. A toss of a coin would decide whether the race was to start at the Mission or at the rancharía. Those who won the toss would start preparations three weeks in advance. Everything would be cleaned and swept. Ramadas or little houses of branches were constructed for the visitors. Great piles of wood were gathered for bonfires. Everyone helped to bring wood from the hills. Rosalia and I always did our share. She would ride my saddle horse and I walked, or sometimes we rode together. I would tear down a great branch and tie a rope to it. She would fasten the other end of the rope to the saddle horn and we would drag the branch to the woodpile. In addition she would help in the preparation of the food. Nothing was sold, everything was given free to the guests. In addition to gathering wood, we would bring in bags of acorns for atole and help also to butcher the steers which were to be roasted over the pits of hot coals.

"One year the Soledad team challenged us in the relay. I was thrilled to think that I was to run opposite the Antelope. I thought how proud Rosalia would be of me. She meant so much to me I felt that she alone could heal the wound made by my parents' deaths. Little did I imagine that the Antelope would bring sorrow and gloom into the happiest portion of my life.

"At last the day arrived for the big game. Everything was in readiness and the racers waited only for the whistle to start them off. People were there from as far away as Monterey for the event was widely announced. The Indians were dressed in full tribal regalia and the sight was a brilliant one. Rosalia's shiny black hair hung down her back in two neat braids and she had a bright red ribbon around her forehead. At her throat were brightly colored glass beads. She carried a small package in her hand and appeared very nervous. I asked her what it was that disturbed her and she said she had a feeling that I was going to lose the race.

"I took my place at the start, the whistle blew and we were off. The Antelope was my opponent. We ran the first three miles to a tie. We passed our sticks to the pair who were waiting and then stretched out on the ground to rest for our final spurt. Some time later we heard a shout and jumping to our feet we made ready to carry the sticks back on the last three-mile lap of the race. The two runners came to us. We grasped the sticks which they gave to us and started for the goal. Suddenly I felt a cramp in my leg. I sat down to rub my leg, thinking that it would be all right in a moment and that I could catch up with the Antelope. When he saw me stop he let out a wild yell of triumph that seemed to go through me like a dagger. I realized that he had influenced a witch to put a curse on me and was now laughing victoriously. I made a quick effort to start after him but I was taken with **cramps** all over my body and was unable to straighten up.

"El Berendo won the race and I was carried back to the rancharía on the horse of the judge who had been placed at our station in the race.

"When I arrived at the goal, I found that the people had El Berendo on their shoulders and were crying 'Long live the Antelope'. And then I saw them carry him to where Rosalia was standing. She opened the package which she had in her hand and drew out a red silk handkerchief. This she tied around El Berendo's neck. The bestowal of a gift was a formal sign that she was betrothed to him. Everyone cheered---the scene was blotted out by my tears. I could scarcely believe what I had seen, but finally I realized that I had run more than an ordinary race and had lost. I closed my eyes and remember crying out to God in my anguish.

"That night when everyone was asleep I saddled my horses and bid farewell forever to San Juan Bautista and the rancharía on the San Benito river. I rode to El Carnadero where some old women invited me to have breakfast with them. There I built a home and stayed forever after."

The settlement of El Carnadero was founded by six Indian women, each of whom built a separate ramada for herself. One was Cecilia, called "La Chowchilla" because she came from the Chowchilla tribe in the San Joaquin valley. She later moved to Gilroy. There were also

Maria Chiquita, a Monteriana Indian, born in San Felipe, but later raised by the Castro family in San Juan, and when very young, taken by them to Monterey. Chiquita married Philip Doc (or Doak). She spoke only Spanish. Maria Onéa was from Carmel and joined the other women in 1845; Maria Miliana came from Santa Cruz; Maria Vieja from Tulare Lake, San Joaquin valley, and Maria Esperanza from La Gloria reservation near Soledad. Maria Esperanza died in 1880. She lived on the river bank from 1853 to 1870. Her last years were spent in a darkened room where she watched her spirit ancestors come and go while she prepared for death which found her in her ninety-seventh year.

Some of the old Indians tell of a lake east of the present site of Gilroy called Laguna San Ysidro. The lake and adjoining land was purchased by a Swiss named Frazier and the body of water was given his name. For many years there has been no indication of the lake. It was at one time called Watson lake and was situated at the southeastern end of the Watson marsh.

Old Gilroy, on the road leading to Pacheco Pass, formerly was named San Ysidro. A ranch there was owned by a Mr. Rienda. When rain was sorely needed the Indians at Mission San Juan Bautista would ask permission to take down from the main altar the statue of St. Isadore, patron of Spanish farmers. They carried the figure in procession northward from the Mission, while they sang hymns and prayed. Half way to San Ysidro they rested. At the ranch they were greeted by other Indians who rang bells and

escorted the pilgrims into the chapel which was part of the establishment. One of the Padres would say Mass and then the procession would start back to the Mission. Invariably, so the tradition has it, rain would start to fall before the returning group had reached San Juan Bautista.

The pagan Indians of the *ranchería* outside of the mission compound also had their method of begging for rain. They likewise used a carved figure of a man, but whereas the Catholic Indians used their statue to remind them of God and His saints, the pagans centered their worship around the effigy itself. The pagan carving was the size of a man's middle finger. It was wrapped in tules and then in rags until it was a bundle large enough to fill three-fourths of a gunny sack. The bundle was kept beneath a bear skin throughout the year in the *temascal* or sweat-bath house of the *ranchería*. When a drought was feared or when the seed supply was low, the Indians would fast for several days. Absolute silence was maintained, even the children being hushed by sharp rebukes. Then everyone would enter the *temascal*. A fire would be kindled in the middle of the floor and the Indians would take turns dancing around it. Next, the hide of the bear which had covered the bundled statue, was placed on a stick near the fire and the dance centered around the skin. Meanwhile each person went to a basket containing seeds (usually the tiny black seeds of the wild pansy called pil) and threw a few into the fire. Then a woman, who recently had given birth to a child, was selected to empty the basket into

the fire. The stifling air of the temascal, and the dancing, caused all of the participants to perspire freely.

When it was decided that the sweating process had progressed sufficiently, the entire assemblage went to the river and plunged in. After the immersion, they returned to the temascal and the leader secured the sacred bundle of rags and took it to the river where he removed the wrappings. He then placed the tiny figure on the water and solemnly notified all present to go to their homes because it was going to rain. After he had allowed the effigy to float for a few minutes, he carefully rewrapped it and took it back to its appointed place in the temascal. And, familiarly, the legend goes, rain usually started before the statue was returned to the protection of the bear skin.

A comprehensive summary of the customs and characteristics of the San Juan Indians may be gained from Father Arroyo de la Cuesta's report of May 1, 1814, which still is to be found in the archives at Mission Santa Barbara.

The pagan San Juan Indians as a rule went naked. The women wore a handful of grass or a piece of deerskin. Sometimes the men wore a cape of sealskin or of rabbit. In cold weather a deer skin wrap was employed. The men had high esteem for their women. They loved their children excessively. The outstanding virtue among the pagans was their patience in sickness. The Missioners found them a gentle and docile tribe, even timid. They knew and distinguished the periods of the year. They referred to

morning, noon and night, sun, moon and principal stars. However, no one knew how old he was. They did not adore the sun or moon (contrary to many present-day legends) nor did they immolate human victims. The pagans were buried after their spines had been broken and the bodies doubled up like a ball. The mourners would paint their faces and wail for two successive nights. The nearest relative would cut his hair with a sharp stone or a burning stick. The wearing apparel of the deceased would be scattered.

The Indians were revengeful and haughty. They had no chieftains. The bravest and strongest would go out to battle each one as he pleased. Usually, however, they would consult with the older warriors and lay plans. Victories were usually accomplished by surprising the enemy. Male victims had their heads and arms cut off. These trophies would be placed on high poles and a victory dance staged around them. They had scarcely any idea of immortality or the soul, but had some sort of notion that the deceased hovered about shrines which the sorcerers put in place, consisting of a pole painted red, white and black. The pole was called chochon and arrows, pinole, tobacco and other offerings were placed there.

Until the coming of the white man the Indians knew nothing about intoxicants. They would effect a sort of stupor by taking lime and wild tobacco mixed with a little water. The Book of Burials in the Mission, under date of October 28, 1819, tells the sad story of one Eutropio as follows:

"It is certified that on this day was buried the body of an Indian, Eutropio, who died suddenly in the Aromas district, of Santa Isabel, Rancho de Ovejas, because he had eaten tobacco covered with burnt shells as these Indians are accustomed to do and no one saw him die, but it was observed that he had become intoxicated with the tobacco and the strength of the lime which he took the seventeenth day of this month and the following day they found him hunched up with his hands on the ground and his head in the dust of the earth with the nausea which he had thrown up in vomiting." (66)

The soldiers caused the introduction of intoxicating beverages and great damage was done to the Indians as a result. The curse of drunkenness, as well as the mischief brought about by Indians who deserted the Mission and returned to their pagan haunts in the hills, provided a serious problem for the Padres.

The Mission Jail.

As one enters San Juan Bautista mission church today he finds a barricade of wooden bars which suggests a prison and which has given rise to numerous stories of how the priests locked up their spiritual children and forced them to attend Mass under threat of durance vile. As a matter of fact, the bars were put in place in later years by Father Rubio who did not have time to take tourists through the Mission. He left the front door open and permitted visitors to come in unattended and to peer through the barricade. The bars stopped the pilfering of mission objects but started wild rumors.

Although the average visitor sees the bars which had nothing whatever to do with the punishment of the

Indians, he does not, as a rule, have an opportunity to inspect the little adobe structure attached to the back of the Mission which in recent years was used as a storage place for hay, but which, originally, was the Mission "jail", the only one in all the mission chain.

The idea of a jail being maintained by the very men who preached forgiveness and charity to the Indians seems to be repulsive to many persons. But to those who have studied the character of the Indians and the customs of the time there is nothing incongruous about it. Father Engelhardt says in this regard:

"Necessarily disorders and excesses would occur. To prevent them as much as possible the friars drew up what might be called police regulations for the transgression of which certain punishments were meted out... The missionaries would instruct, warn, admonish and finally have recourse to such punishments as would impress creatures so dull, coarse and carnal with the gravity of a deed or neglect of a duty. The culprit would be locked up; but that was what he courted because it relieved him of work., He was also deprived of the privilege of visiting his relatives or friends in the mountains or forbidden to participate in a festivity or amusement. This affected him somewhat more.

"There were offenses, however, intrinsically wicked or subversive to order which had to be dealt with in such a way that the transgressor felt the gravity of them if he would not comprehend it. Such misdeeds were habitual stealing, persistent indolence, stubbornness, desertion, drunkenness, immoralities, etc." (67)

We know that the Padres permitted the Indians to be whipped. Historians like Bancroft have condemned them for it. Padre Venegas gives us a description of the mentality and character of the Mission Indians which throws light upon the whole situation:

"These savages whose dullness and narrow ideas at first did not grasp the utility of such labors which deprived them of the freedom of roving about the

mountains according to their custom, furnished thousands of occasions to increase the merit of patience by coming too late or not wanting to stir, by running away or jeering at the Father and sometimes even by conspiring and threatening death and destruction. All had to be borne with unwearied patience without having any recourse to any other remedy than kindness and soft words, mixed at times with gravity to make himself respected, and in showing consideration for their weakness by not tiring them.

"In the evening the Father would gather them a second time to say the Rosary, after which the Doctrina was repeated and formally explained, and then he would give them supper. In the beginning they were noisy during the whole of the instruction hearing it with jests and sneering at what the missionary said, talking among themselves and many times giving vent to boisterous laughter. The Father endured this for a while; then he rebuked them and as this did no good, he one day thought it necessary to employ a somewhat vigorous experiment to overcome them by fear.

"Near him usually stood an Indian much esteemed for his strength, who, relying upon this advantage, the only quality valued among them, ventured to conduct himself more rudely than the others. Father Ugarte, who was himself a large and strong man, took the Indian by the hair, just as he was laughing most immoderately and making signs of mockery to the others, lifted him up into the air, swinging him to and fro three or four times. That was enough to make the rest run away terrified. They soon returned one after another, but the Father had succeeded in causing such dread that they assisted at the Doctrina with attention...." (68)

"On one occasion he impressed upon them with all the force he possessed the fire and pains of hell. The result was that he afterwards overheard them saying one to another that hell was a better land than their own for there was no lack of wood but that fire was there to warm and that therefore it was better to leave their country and go there." (69)

Father Engelhardt offers an explanation of the use of the lash:

"The soldier's duty was to guard the life of the missionary, to protect the mission and to quell disturbances. He had to stand ready at the missionary's order to go whither necessity demanded. He could arrest offenders and chastise them with discretion unless the offense constituted a capital crime; in

this case he had to refer the matter to the captain of thepresidio, who alone possessed supreme jurisdiction. Minor transgressions were punished by flogging; for greater misdeeds the penalty was imprisonment. The stocks too, were employed frequently. As the prison had no dread for the Indian but rather suited his indolence, Father Salvatierra introduced the lash as the most effective means to make the brutish native comprehend the wickedness of a crime or sin. Flogging was common for a similar class of people in the provinces of New Spain and proved beneficial for the communities. Salvatierra in the early days of the Loreto mission first had the lash used upon petty thieves. Venegas relates the occasion for its introduction as follows: One day the captain caught an Indian in the very act of stealing. Salvatierra had all the Indians assemble. The captain brought the culprit into their presence, painted the wickedness of stealing in the ugliest sort of colors and declared that the offender must suffer for his crime. All the witnesses agreed that the offense must be punished. The missionary persuaded the officer to let the guilty man off with a whipping. The lash was applied but after a few blows the Father pardoned the culprit. Instead of resenting the treatment, the natives were filled with wonder that so small a punishment could satisfy the demands of justice. After this, the whip was applied for these and similar misdeeds by those Indians who held some kind of authority but always subject to the directions or approval of the missionary." (70)

In replying to the questionnaire sent him by Mexican officials regarding treatment of Indians, Father Lasuén wrote:

"Never is anyone chastised for having gone to the presidio in free time.....It is certain that some Indians have been chastised not because they worked with a soldier but for being absent from the mission without a permit.....Two neophytes are sent after them and on arriving at the mission they receive a few blows from the lash." (71)

Today, absence without leave would not seem to be a grievous fault. But in those days it meant probably that the Indian had gone back to the hills to take part in immoral pagan practices and, perhaps, even to foment an attack on the faithful Indians.

By means of funds supplied by the late General M. H. Sherman of Los Angeles, the San Juan Bautista jail was torn down in April, 1932, and carefully rebuilt as a guest house. It was 19 ft. wide and 53 ft. long. The local tradition as to its use seems always to have existed. The Ánzars, most reliable of the witnesses, said that as long as they can remember it was regarded as a jail.

"We always heard that the Indians had no fear of it," they said, "but rather that on Saturday nights the choir would request to be locked up so that they would not succumb to the temptation offered by the white man's whiskey. They did not want to miss the opportunity to sing at Mass on Sunday morning." This love of singing is borne out by Father Arroyo de la Cuesta's reply to the Interrogatorio of 1814 in which he says:

"They are very fond of music and song. They learn with facility what is taught them, but on their instruments also remember the pagan tunes. Of these latter there are many and various. They have songs for games, but those for the men are distinct from those of the women. They have them for funerals, for the time of being cured, for wartime, for the chase, for the dances of the men, for the dances of the women, for entertaining the boys, and others for counting, for fables. There is no connection in their words and many of them do not know what the words mean because the words of the tunes were taken from other tribes and languages. Some of the songs are sad, and some are very cheerful, all in accordance with the circumstances and objects of the songs and dances." (72)

The construction of the interior of the jail was most unusual. It had two floors, both entered by outside doors, the upper one having three protruding rafters beneath it, which evidently supported a porch or platform. Inside,

it was scarcely possible to stand erect. A transverse wall divided each floor into two rooms. A series of slots formed by omitting bricks in the walls may have been used to support bunks but could not be explained satisfactorily, since the slots did not correspond with those on the opposite side. An outside stairway not included in the original was added to the north side of the rebuilt structure. The fact that heavy wooden bars at the windows were imbedded in the adobe during construction would seem to indicate that the original purpose of the building was that of a jail. After the confiscation of the missions, according to Ánzar, a prison or guardhouse was established in the mission living quarters, in the third room from the street, arcade side. Nowhere, in any of the mission archives, in the reports to superiors or in any record has a single official word been written about the San Juan Bautista jail.

Another fact which becomes apparent to the searcher of documents is that there is no record of any personal correspondence. In five thousand letters in the archives of San Francisco archdiocese, Santa Barbara monastery and De La Guerra Collection there is not one note from a relative or secular friend in Spain or Mexico which suggests that any one of the Padres was keeping in touch with places and persons of his childhood. It is an eloquent tribute to the absolute detachment of these missionaries. A very practical reason was the cost of transmitting correspondence which might easily have amounted to one dollar for a single letter. While this fact might deter them

from communicating nothing but business matters, it nevertheless does not detract from the friars' utter self-negation in records and official letters. The only time we get an insight into their personal lives is when they are prompted to defend their own actions ^{from} ~~by~~ an attack or an accusation on the part of some enemy of the work.

Modern missionaries who realize the value ~~to~~ later generations of such works as The Jesuit Relations, are careful to record personal experiences and to keep accurate diaries of events in their missions. A good example of this tendency is found in the Maryknoll Mission Letters which in 1933 had reached two volumes.

However, a running story of the arrival and departure at San Juan Bautista of the various pastors, and, an account of the principal events in their ministry is given by the Book of Baptisms, Book of Marriages and Book of Burials. To handle the limp leathern volumes with their yellow pages and delicate inscriptions in ink which has faded to brown, is indeed a privilege. At San Juan Bautista all of the books are well-preserved and every record is available from the very first to the most recent.

The initial baptism took place on July 11, 1797. The baptized was an Indian child of ten years, named Tirachis, from the ranchería of the Absayme. Father Martiarena gave him the name of Juan Bautista. Juan Ballesteros, the corporal, was sponsor. Antonio Enriquez was godfather for a second young neophyte who received the name of Pedro. On August 20, the first Indian woman was

baptized and received the name of Josefa. The first white person baptized was Francisco Javier Antonio Ballesteros, son of the corporal. Ignacio Barrera, second carpenter of the King's frigate "Concepcion" and Antonia Redorido, wife of Jose Manuel Higuera were sponsors. Eight days later three soldiers of the guard were baptized and by the end of the year, eighty-five persons had received the Sacrament.

The first burial occurred on September 23, 1797, when the infant son of Corporal Ballesteros died. The first Indian to be laid in the cemetery was a little girl named Maria Trinidad (April 23, 1798). On October 5 Father Martinez officiated at the first marriage contracted by San Juan Bautista peophytes. No whites were married until 1799.

In 1798 the Asayames Indians who lived twenty-five miles to the east, surrounded the Mission but were repulsed, how, it is not known. Some time later in November, the Osos Indians killed eight ranchería Indians and Sergeant Castro was sent to punish them. In the fight, a well-known Indian named Tatillosti was killed and one other and a soldier wounded. Two non-Christian Indians were captured and brought to the mission to act as interpreters.

On March 4, 1798, we find, in the Book of Baptisms the first signature of Father Francisco Pujol; that of Father Antonio Jayme on April 18th and of Father Baltasar Carnicier on August 18. In 1799 the Asayames again went on the warpath and killed five Mutsuns. Castro captured

fifty of them and under orders from Governor Borica administered floggings. A few were brought in for work in the presidio. On March 19, 1799, Father Augustin Merino's name appears in the Book of Baptisms. On August 9, 1800, Father Martiarena was transferred from the Mission but returned in August 1801. During his absence he was replaced by Father Jacinto Lopez, who had arrived August 13, 1800, from San Antonio where he had come from Monterey. (73)

The year was not without its excitement. The Asayames continued to cause trouble. They killed two Mutsuns near San Benito creek, north of the mission, burned a house, set fire to a wheat field, and tried to fire the Mission. Sergeant Gabriel Moraga and a group of ten soldiers captured eighteen Indians including two leaders of the Asayames and Carnadero rancherias. By this time there had been 641 baptisms, 65 deaths and 581 neophytes. Of live stock there were 379 cattle and 2035 sheep and a total of 3025 bushels of produce had been harvested. (74)

From October 11 to 31 earthquakes occurred sometimes as many as six in one day. The most severe was on October 18 when the Padres were forced to sleep out of doors. There were great cracks in the ground and on the banks of the Pajaro river. The adobe walls of the buildings split from top to bottom and threatened to fall. (75)

In the following year, 1801, Father Lopez' health failed and he left the Mission in September. His last signature is found in the Book of Burials under August 29. He sailed for Mexico on October 9 and Father Martiarena returned.

(76) On February 8 it is recorded in the Book of Baptisms that Father Domingo Santiago de Iturrate took up his duties as assistant of the Mission, while on June 27th the name of Father José Antonio de Uria appears. In 1802 Mariano Castro returned from Mexico whither he had gone the year before. He brought back authority to occupy the rancho of La Brea where he made some improvements. The Padres objected to the confiscation of their property and refused to remove their livestock. They sent a protest to their Superior who forwarded it to the Viceroy through the Father Guardian. After several years of delay it was decided that Castro would have to vacate. (77) In this year we find three new missionaries performing baptisms at San Juan Bautista. They are Father Francisco Gonzales (March 2), Father Luis Gonzaga Gil de Toboada (July 10) and Father Domingo Carranza (December 27).

In August 1803 Father Jayme's name appears for the last time in the Book of Baptisms, on the thirteenth. In August 1804 Father Martiarena left the country (78) and was succeeded by Father Andre Dulanto, a native of Mirando de Elro, Castile, Spain, whose name appears first in the Book of Marriages on August 28. Father Gonzales seems to have left sometime after a baptism which is recorded on February 17, 1805. Father Pedro Muñoz and Father Andrés Quintana appear on May 10 and September 6, respectively. Father Muñoz, who was stationed at San Miguel Mission, was a member of an expeditionary group which set out from San Juan Bautista in search of new sites. Father Quintana was

from the neighboring mission of Santa Cruz. On July 15, 1806, Father Antonio de Uria officiated at a marriage and Father Florencio Ibañez at a funeral on August 17. Father Ibañez' last signature is found under date of September 14, but one month later. In 1807 we find Father Carnicier's final signature recording a funeral on February 9. On September 15 we read that Don José M. Afanador, a royal chaplain, baptized a little Indian whose godfather was Don Francisco Tamaris, a lieutenant of a frigate. The following year Father Dulanto died on September 11. (79) He was succeeded as pastor by Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta (80) On July 28 Father Quintana conducted a funeral. Father Juan Sainz de Lucio seems to have officiated at funerals only, from July 15 to September 2, 1808. On July 25 Father Iturrate conducted his last funeral at San Juan Bautista and sailed for Mexico in October 1809 after eight years of service. He was succeeded by Father Roman Fernandez de Ullibarri (81) who with Father Arroyo de la Cuesta blessed the new church in 1812. Father Ullibarri left in 1814, his last entry being made in the Book of Burials on September 26. On December 28, Father Vincente Francisco Sarria became "minister" (82) but left soon after, his last signature appearing on January 20. Probably he merely filled in until Father Estévan Tapis was appointed as successor to Father Ullibarri, on February 13, 1815.

On November 15, 1816, the Mission was inspected by Father Vincente Francisco de Sarria who signed the Book

of Baptisms. He had made a visit on February 3, 1814, but it had merely been noted on the first blank page of the register. Father Pedro Cabot acted as his secretary on the second visitation. In November 1818 the new altar in the finished church was blessed. Father José Viador's name appears in the baptismal records on February 1821. A marriage certificate for the same year informs us that Innocente Garcia was second majordomo at the Mission and that he married Maria del Carmen Ramirez. Father Sarria returned and baptized in the absence of Fathers Arroyo and Tapis.

On February 4, 1822, Father Ramon Abella puts in an appearance in the records. On March 5, 1823, Father Arroyo gave conditional baptism to an Englishman, 25 years of age, called Jeremy Jones, a native of Surry, England, and a caulker by trade. The Padre bestowed on him the euphonious name of Teifilio Tomas Jeremias.

At this time the Mission was flourishing, the Christian Indians numbering 1248. As many as 371 converts had been baptized in one year (1821). From 1820 to 1830 the yearly average was 121 baptisms, the only gain recorded in this period at any of the missions, with the single exception of San Luis Rey. (83) In December 1823, Father Buenaventura Fortuni came to San Juan Bautista. On October 16, 1824, we find that Father Arroyo with the permission of the Archbishop of Sonora, admitted to the Catholic Church an English Protestant named John Martin, whose former baptism was considered valid. (84)

Father Tapis died at San Juan Bautista in 1825 and was succeeded by Father Fortuni whose name however does not appear after June 12, 1826. Father Abella left after Christmas, 1829, and Father Juan Moreno arrived in February of the following year. (85) Father Juan Cabot seems to have been in charge during the interim.

Rev. Patrick Short, a Picpus Father, who had been expelled by the native government of the Sandwich Islands at the instigation of American Protestant missionaries, officiated at funerals on October 24 and 25, 1832. Evidently he was en route to or from Monterey where he was conducting a school, until such a time as he could manage to gain entry to the islands once again.

Father Moreno made his last entry in the records (86) on May 8, 1833, and eleven days later (87) he and Father Arroyo were retired to make way for Father Antonio Anzar.

Remote Causes of Decline.

By this time the shadow of persecution had settled over the Missions. Three years before the first overt act against the establishments of the Padres had been recorded. To one who seeks causes it is not surprising that in the year 1830 those in charge of the Mexican government struck out at the mission organization in California and at the Catholic Church in Mexico. The world in that year was full of unrest and uprising. There was the second

revolution in France with the consequent fall of the Bourbons. The Poles were striving to throw off the Russian yoke. Riots were numerous in Italy and Germany. The Spanish War of Independence against the Bonaparte regime had raged from 1809 to 1813.

The end of the eighteenth century had brought the doctrine of French Revolution with the anti-clerical teachings of the Encyclopedists. It had given Napoleon to the world, a Napoleon who in his drive for power had not stopped at the threshold of the Church.

"When in doubt (or in debt) confiscate church property" seemed to be accepted generally as an axiom.

Three years after 1830, the Seven Years war in Spain was to take place between the Catholic Carlistas who were in favor of Charles V. and the Cristinos, followers of the Queen Mother Cristina. The contagion of strife spread to Portugal, to Naples, Sardinia and to Greece.

The Spanish revolution had severed relations between Mexico and the homeland. It was but a step farther to identify the Church with the Mother country and to treat both alike.

In addition there was the strong incentive of financial gain for any action against the Church. The Mexican Government withheld from the Padres the income from the Pious Fund which friends of the Missions had established for the work. (88)

With this background we find as Governor of

California José María de Echeandía, a man whose hatred for religion was manifested in such cases as the deportation of aged Father Martínez. The Governor and his able helper, Lieutenant José María Padrés, inspector adjutant, must be given the unsavory credit of bringing about the destruction of the Missions, which accomplishment was made permanent by the avaricious Pío Pico.

On August 3, 1830 Echeandía signed the order of dispossession. (89) His action purported to receive its authority from a decree of the Spanish Cortes in 1813, which was similar in scope. But the Spanish laws no longer affected Mexico or California since Mexico had broken away from Spain. The law of 1813 moreover had contemplated secularization, not confiscation. Secularization meant the staffing of the missions by secular priests, but preserved the integrity of each establishment as church property.

Echeandía's order removed the Indians from the authority of the priests and confiscated the great fields, live stock and everything not pertaining to the church edifice and the worship of God. It permitted the Padres to remain as curates or to establish a new chain of missions if they so desired (90)

The order was approved by Echeandía's legislative assembly of five men but it was not sanctioned by the Congress in Mexico. Echeandía was removed, but before transferring the office to Colonel Manuel Victoria, his successor, he issued a proclamation, dated January 6, 1831,

in which he declared all of the Missions to be "secularized" (91) He made this move despite the fact that he had received word of his own removal from office and that his successor was already in California.

Victorias' first official act was to declare, on February 1, 1831, the suspension of the decree of secularization, because it did not agree in his opinion with the mind of the Home government. However the despoilers of the missions would not rest until this friend of the Padres had been removed. Led by José Padrés and Pio Pico a group of radicals decided upon revolution as the means of upsetting Victorias. They persuaded Echeandía to lead their forces. Supported by the San Diego garrison of troops Echeandía moved against the Governor. After a skirmish in which Victorias was wounded severely, he was forced to sign his command over to Echeandía.

No sooner had the former governor regained his power than the five conspirators who formed the legislative assembly deprived him of it. They made Echeandía head of the military and put their own man, Pio Pico, as temporary head of the civil power. Another row was precipitated and to preserve harmony Echeandía was permitted to rule to the south of San Gabriel mission and Captain Agustín V. Zamorano, of Monterey, was given the north, until the new governor should arrive from Mexico. (92) Zamorano was comparatively decent to the missions. Echeandía remained unchanged.

On May 9, 1832, José Figueroa was appointed gov-

ernor of all California. Echeandía made one last effort by a proclamation to clinch his campaign against the missions but it availed little.

But these were not the only troubles which confronted the priests. Back in 1827, because Spain had not yet recognized the independence of Mexico, the republican Congress decreed that no person of Spanish birth could hold a civil or military office. (93) The federal government two years later, March 28, 1829, ordered all Spaniards to leave California and New Mexico within one month and to quit the republic within three months after the promulgation of the law (July 6). (94)

Since the Fathers from the College of San Fernando were practically all of Spanish birth, the administration which preceeded the Bustamante government ordered the College of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, entirely composed of Mexicans, to staff the California missions. (95) The Zacatecans like the Fernandinos were Franciscans, wore grey habits and sandals. Father Mariano Sosa was sent with three Zacatecan friars, Francisco Cuculla, Jesus María Martínez and Antonio Ánzar. It is thought (96) that they traveled by way of Lower California because Fr.Sosa's name is recorded in the Book of Baptisms on March 20, 1831 at the Dominican Mission of Rosario. From there they probably reported to Fr.Sanchez, padre presidente, at San Gabriel, for on April 28, the baptismal record shows that Fr.Cuculla officiated.

Fr.Ánzar then replaced Fr.Antonio Peíri at San Luis Rey (97) and was the only Zacatecan in the missions in 1833

Figueroa (98).

The transfer of the missions to the new men then took place, Fr.Arroyo de la Cuesta leaving San Juan Bautista for San Miguel while Fr.Juan Moreno retired to Purrisima Concepcion (99). Fr.Ánzar moved in on May 30, 1833 according to a notation written by Fr.Closa on a slip of paper found in Fr.Ánzar's breviary. The Divine Office book, which bears the date of August 4, 1816, was given to the Ánzar family by Fr.Closa, one of the later pastors. However the same notation states that Father Ánzar left on August 21, 1854 which is earlier than his last marriage record on November 8, 1854, so perhaps Fr.Closa's first date is no more accurate than the second.

The Zacatecan friars soon discovered, as Father Engelhardt puts it, (100) that "their lines had not fallen in pleasant places. Their inexperience, a certain degree of prejudice felt by the neophytes as well as the Californians and other difficulties caused no little vexation." Moreover the missionaries were required to furnish the soldiers at the nearby presidios with supplies. On the other hand the Indians, most of them made indolent by their recent "emancipation" could not by recent laws be forced to work in order to raise the supplies.

Furthermore, the Bustamante administration in Mexico was replaced by the rabidly irreligious Santa Ana faction and all hope of a restoration of prosperity for the missions vanished.

Governor Figueroa ordered, provisionally, on July 15

1833, (101) the "freeing" of all neophytes and a partial division of mission lands. The missionaries silently allowed the decree to become effective. The governor continued to investigate the situation and then recommended to the central government certain modifications.

But without waiting for his report the Mexican government passed a bill for secularization on August 17, 1833 (102). It was fostered by the old enemy of the missions, José Padrés and his friend José Híjar. With the help of the vice-president Farias, they managed to pass the measure through Congress and rush a copy of it to California. Meanwhile Santa Ana who had been absent during the transaction returned and repudiated the entire action. But Governor Figueroa had no inkling of the President's attitude and consequently laid the law before the territorial legislature.

Later when Figueroa asked to be relieved of office because of ill health, Padrés was appointed military commander. Híjar was made civil governor to take office if Figueroa persisted in his desire to resign. (103) The governor did not quit, in fact he continued in office until his death, September 29, 1835. Hittell (104) says that Governor Figueroa died at San Juan Bautista. His death occurred at Monterey. (105) Padrés and Híjar were placed in charge of a new so-called colonization plan which was secularization under another name. Bandini, a henchman of Padrés, had become legislative representative of California. The trio would thus be in a position of power. But

Híjar was prevented by President Santa Ana from taking over civil authority. However he remained as colonization director, and so was able to confiscate the mission property. A supplementary law (April 16, 1834) made secularization effective within four months (106). It may be noted that no effort was made to follow the suggestion of Fathers Durán and García Diego that an experiment first be made with a few of the older missions (107).

The members of the territorial legislature suddenly realized that the Mexican law would prevent them from having a share in the spoils so they repudiated the act of August 17, 1833 and passed their own confiscation bill. They forced the governor to announce the procedure without awaiting the customary approbation of the Mexican government. It took a long time for news to reach the capital and meanwhile the despoiling took place.

--- Confiscation of San Juan Bautista ---

Poor Father Ánzar had to bear the burden alone at San Juan Bautista. By December 19, 1834 Antonio Buelna, one of seven legislators had converted the Mission into a pueblo and declared the church a curacy of the second class, combined with the mission at Santa Cruz. The pastor (now arbitrarily called a curate) was to receive a yearly salary of one thousand dollars which was to come from the revenues (!) of the Mission. Of course the action was illegal because the ecclesiastical rank of a parish and the title

of its pastor are matters which intrinsically are subject to church authorities.

"It is impossible for me to give the Indians complete liberty because of the indolence and incapacity which I encounter in them to be maintained by themselves alone, excepting some who can be free, leaving the rest in the way and subjection in which they were before," (108) Buelna

reported to the governor.

José Tiburcio Castro assumed management of San Juan Bautista as majordomo. He was assisted by Angel Castro and Joaquin Rios. He made the pueblo capital of the prefecture but it was later restored to Monterey (109). Castro immediately came into conflict with Fr. Ánzar. According to Article XI of the law, the missionary was to choose for living quarters, that part of the Mission building which would suit him and his servants best. He selected eleven rooms, but Castro objected. The padre also was subjected to countless other petty annoyances. In a letter to Governor Figueroa (110) he complains that the sum of \$500 assigned for altar bread, wines, candles etc., had not been paid to him, that the government representatives constantly persuaded his Indian servants to leave him, that he had no horses to be used in ministering to the sick outside of the settlement. When he did get a horse or two he had to pay the cook to watch them at night. Pagan Indians who came to the Mission for instruction were not provided with clothing as required by law, and orphans protected by the missionary were taken away from him.

Father Ánzar was hemmed in on all sides. The con-

querors had no thought of spirituality. In their blindness they even wrecked the temporalities. The following inventory gives some idea of the condition of San Juan Bautista at the time of the confiscation:

Inventory May 1835

Assets	1,040.62
Library, 182 volumes	401.00
Six bells	1,060.00
Contents of Organ loft (?)	1,643.00
Furniture, implements, goods stored, etc.	7,744.25
Church and contents	35,000.00
Buildings of Mission	30,000.00
Outside buildings, vineyards, lands,	37,365.00
Outside ranches	19,107.00
Cash on hand	222.00
Distributed among Indians in goods etc.	8,439.75
Total.....	<u>138,973.37</u>
Debts.....	<u>250.00</u>
	138,723.37

Perhaps no phase of the history of San Juan Bautista has been more distorted than that relating to its resources. Stories of hidden treasure in the Mission were still being circulated as late as 1933.

Bancroft says: "Echeandía writing to the Minister of War, April 26, 1826 justified his order (requiring all missions to pay ten percent of their income to the 'well-deserving troops') on the ground that he was informed that some of them had from \$70,000 to \$100,000 in their coffers."

To which Fr. Engelhardt replies: "It may be safely asserted that there was not so much money in the whole territory at said period.....The stupid tale has not yet died out among the Californians." (111)

Mofras states that San Juan Bautista had 7,000

cattle, 1,200 horses and 9,000 sheep in 1834 (112) Fr. Engelhardt says that at the beginning of 1833 San Juan Bautista possessed 6,000 cattle 6,004 sheep and 296 horses. Colton says: "in 1820 it (San Juan Bautista) owned 43,870 head of cattle, 1,360 tame horses and 4,970 mares colts and fillies. It has also seven sheep farms, containing 69,530 sheep while the Indians attached to the Mission drove 321 yoke of oxen. Its storehouse contained \$75,000 in goods and \$20,000 in specie.(113)

"Imagine", replies Fr.Engelhardt, "the governor not far away and knowing \$20,000 in cash lying around at San Juan Bautista, while his soldiers walked about in rags for the last eight years! According to the honest reports of the missionaries the Mission possessed in 1820 just 11,000 cattle, 9,500 sheep and 675 horses". (114)

"These men (the Padres) came inspired by zeal for the saving of souls", says Herbert E.Bolton. "Many of them were sons of distinguished families, who might have occupied positions of honor and distinction in Europe; most of them were men of liberal education; nearly all of them were zealous for the Faith, and wholly uninterested in private gain. Yet the country where they worked is now full of deluded men who are looking for the lost and hidden treasures of the missionaries of olden time. Vain task! for the true soldier of the Cross was occupied in conquering the wilderness not for gold, but for the heathen souls which it would yield." (115)

The precarious existence of the priests is further emphasized by a letter written by Father Serra to Father Palou on August 18, 1772. "The principal supporters of our people are the heathen Indians. Through them we live as God wills, though the milk from the cows and some vegetables from the garden have been the chief means of subsistence in these establishments; but both sources are

becoming scanty." (116)

The material side of the Padres' existence was distasteful to them but had to be endured. So trying was it for Fr. Arroyo de la Cuesta that he gave vent to his feelings in a letter written at San Juan Bustista to Herrera:

"There are many difficulties all around and I am overburdened with cares which render life wearisome. There is in these troublous times hardly anything religious in me and I scarcely know what to do. I made the vow of a Friar Minor; instead I must manage temporalities, sow grain, raise sheep, horses and cows, preach, baptize, bury the dead, visit the sick, **direct carts, haul stones, lime, etc.** These things are as disagreeable as thorns, bitter, **hard, unbearable** and they rob me of time, tranquility and health, both of soul and body. I desire with lively anxiety to devote myself to my sacred calling and to serve the Lord." (117)

That the missionaries did not devote all their time to worldly occupations is shown by the record of the man who wrote the above lamentation. After Father Tapis' death in 1825, Fr. Arroyo was alone at San Juan Bautista with 1,200 neophytes. He had no assistant nor substitute. In spite of the trials and occupations outlined in his letter he frequently baptized as many as twenty or thirty converts in one day (118) and that despite the fact that each new convert meant one more mouth to feed and one more body to clothe.

Yet he managed to keep cheerful despite the trials and hardships, as is indicated in two separate accounts of visits made to San Juan Bautista when Father Arroyo was in charge.

James relates an interesting detail described by

Captain Beechey:

"Captain Beechey, too, (who with a party stopped overnight at this Mission in 1826) bears witness to Padre Arroyo's cheerful hospitality. There were no hotels in California in those days, you must remember and outside of the infrequent towns, almost no private homes, so the Missions kept open house for all travelers. The Padre set before the Beechey party the best the Mission larder afforded and urged them on to the consumption of it with many a quip and a proverb.

'Un dia alegre vale cien años de pesadumbre' he quoted. ('One happy day is worth a century of sadness.')

After supper he entertained them with stories of bears and Indians and sang them Spanish patriotic songs, for he, like most of the Franciscans was a royalist and looked askance at Mexican republicanism. At bedtime in came a luncheon of cold frijoles, bread and eggs-- the viatico for night the Padre called it; and then he escorted them to their sleeping rooms.... In the morning the travelers were for starting off early for their 35 mile ride to Monterey, but the Padre would on no account permit it until he had had them in to Mass.

'No, no,' he said with authority, that they could not escape, Protestants though they were, and drove the matter home with another dicho: 'Oir misa y dar cibada, no impede jornada.' (To hear Mass and give alms delays no journey). (119)

Another glimpse of the interesting priest is found in Life in California, by Alfred Robinson:

"A few leagues brought us to an extensive plain which we crossed and entered upon a narrow road leading through a range of beautiful green hills to the Mission San Juan Bautista. An alameda or shaded walk of some length gave access to the establishment on each side of which were gardens and cultivated fields.

"The Mission was founded in the year 1797 and had in 1831 a population of about twelve hundred civilized Indians. It is conveniently located in the center of a valley with an abundance of rich land and large stocks of cattle. Padre Felipe Arroyo was the missionary whose infirm state of health kept him confined closely to his chamber. For amusement, when tired of study, he called in the children of the place and set them to dancing and playing their games. In his eccentric taste he had given them the names of all the renowned personages of antiquity, and Ciceros, Platos and Alexanders were to be found in abundance.

"A particular regard for us procured from the old

gentleman a sleeping apartment adjoining his own, not usually bestowed upon travelers. When we retired, however, we were surprised to find no sheets upon the bed but in their stead, coarse blankets. Shut out from any means of access to the other parts of the building except through the rooms of the Padre, it was impossible to remedy the deficiency. Our light was extinguished and soon (my companion's) nasal organs announced how deep was his repose.

"I could not sleep; the blankets pricked my flesh the room was warm and at times it would seem as if a thousand needles penetrated my legs and sides. Can it be the blankets, thought I, or are they filled with fleas.....They were fleas indeed!I jumped with horror from the bed to the floor. But it was like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire, for the floor was of tile and the crevices their place of abode....Thus the whole tedious night was passed in scratching and complaining till morning broke when worn out with fatigue and loss of sleep we finally closed our eyes and slept till roused to chocolate. (To the inquiries of the old friar as to whether or not they had slept well) I would have frankly replied, but politeness forbade and a shrug of the shoulders brought forth the feeble and laconic answer 'Bien! Gracias!'"

"The whole country is infested with fleas and it is a rare thing to find a house without them so that the natives have become accustomed to their bite and think nothing of it....."

"By the time we got through with our chocolate the horses were at the door and we hastened to take leave of Padre Arroyo."(120)

The extent of Father Arroyo's ill health is attested to by Father Sarria, writing to Governor Echeandia on February 9, 1830:

"At Mission San Juan Bautista the missionary Father is so incapacitated that when there is a necessity of hearing a Confession or of administering Extreme Unction in the Indian village he has to be borne there on a stretcher. Even so he cannot visit the outside ranches so that I have at times attended his sick."(from Soledad!) (121)

Father Arroyo's inventory, quoted above, indicates that the Mission was flourishing at the time of confiscation and that there was no legitimate excuse for removing the efficient management. "It was not national property any more than the estates of the settlers," says Fr.Engelhardt. (122) "The land belonged to the Indians." But under the

new plan the efficient organization was broken into countless small units. The seeds, grain, implements and other goods which were inventoried at a value of \$8,439.75 was divided among 63 heads of Indian families. Each received a piece of land not more than 400 yards square. He was given a certain amount of equipment and told to till the land as best he could. One-half of the mission possessions were under the direct charge of the majordomo and were to be used for community purposes. Thus common land would be supplied for grazing.

Unfortunately the revolutionary plan failed to work. It was doomed from the beginning. For years the Indians gradually had been raised from indolence to a new life of activity and mutual helpfulness based on the mission plan. Now that the system was discarded the poor Indian tried to work out a livelihood alone, but he could not it was against his nature and training. The natural result was that the natives crossed to the north side of the valley and lived by themselves. Consequently there was no trace of the once-flourishing Indian community in 1836.(123) Only 900 head of cattle remained, 4,000 sheep, a crop of 900 bushels and a debt of \$1,300.

So did selfish legislation, providing for paid officials, ruin the successful establishment which for so long had been conducted by unsalaried servants of charity. Alvarado says that the secularization plan worked out well at San Antonio and San Juan Bautista! What, then, must

have been the plight of the other "liberated" groups!

According to Father Durán's graphic description of the effects of secularization (124) "the neophytes understood that when the Fathers induced them to yield their savage liberty, it was a necessary sacrifice they owed to God for the benefit of their salvation which they could not secure in (the freedom or license of) paganism; but now (after secularization) they see that what interests least are their souls."

As a result of this realization the Indians began to put into practice what they had learned from the enemies of the Padres. The conquerors had been guilty of deception; it was evident that the missions were but so much booty to them. By preaching "freedom" they demoralized the Indians and they reaped what they had sown. Heretofore religion had acted as a restraint to the savage passions. With the influence of the priests removed, and the wholesome community life destroyed the passions of the natives were unleashed.

As early as one year after San Juan Bautista was confiscated, Pio Pico complained to Mariano Vallejo (125) "the Indians who formerly were so satisfied with their lot and who labored with such pleasure have become wicked. Instead of taking care of the cows they kill them and sell the hide and tallow."

Father Engelhardt says: "No sooner had the missions been confiscated than most of the neophytes scattered in all directions. Many of them joined

Father Engelhardt then quotes President Taft on the dangers of giving independence to aborigines and continues:

"In California, as we know, it was not the mission Indian who clamored for independence from missionary rule and for his share in the mission estates. The neophytes, save the prodigals among them, were in no hurry whatever to obtain 'freedom' and possession of the community property as long as their interests were guarded by such capable and honest managers."(129)

Testimony of Captain Charles Wilkes in his Narrative (130) shows that the priests conducted the missions "judicially" and that the Indians were well-dressed, well-fed and happy. Such contented natives could not be so stupid as to fail to understand that they were later "liberated" and forced to work for no other reason than to provide for the paisano officials.

At San Juan the officials were in 1835, Felipe Amésti, first alcade, and Rafael Gonzalez, second alcade. Two years later José María Sanchez became justice of the peace. His house was attacked by savage Indians who wounded him and killed two Christian natives. About a year later they burned his home to the ground. In 1839 Juan Miguel Ánzar, brother of Padre Ánzar and father of Guadalupe Ánzar (Guadalupe died at San Juan in 1932) became justice.

On November 7, 1835 the Mexican Congress ordered the return of the Mission to the missionaries. The enforcement of the new decree was left to Governor Manuel Michel-torena who was not appointed until seven years had elapsed (1842).

Two years after his appointment the governor was

forced by another decree from the capitol to restore to the priests whatever remained of the mission property. His compliance with the order aroused the opposition of the paisano leaders. Bancroft (131) says that this group including Alvarado, Pico, Castro and Osio revolted because of three reasons: their own desire for power and wealth; the general feeling against the convict soldiers employed by the governor and finally, the feeling that Micheltorena represented the thought and ideals of old Mexico.

The conspirators plotted at San Juan Bautista but the governor became aware of their schemes. He secured the help of Sutter and his men and proceeded to pursue the rebels to Los Angeles. After considerable but ineffective military maneuvering, during which Sutter left Micheltorena to shift for himself, the governor surrendered and was shipped back to Mexico. (132)

Pio Pico, senior of the assemblymen, called a meeting of the territorial legislature (133). They put through a bill declaring Pico temporary governor and José Castro military commander.

On March 18, 1845 Pico ordered the confiscation of missions for the obviously false purpose of bettering the condition of the Indians. In his personal confessions entitled Narracion Historica, Pico says: "The principal object which guided me in my actions respecting those establishments was to make the rule of the missionaries disappear completely and to organize pueblos in their stead.

I was determined to put an end to the missions at all hazards in order that the land could be acquired by private individuals." (134)

The confiscation act was protested by Fr. Prefect Durán. On April 19, a demand was made that the Padres report the exact financial status of the missions. Their condition is best described by Fr. Durán in his report. (135)

".....it appears that three missions are entirely abandoned for want of missionaries and resources; that in this district there are only eight Fernandino friars, assisted by three secular priests; that only the missions of Santa Inés and San Buenaventura have moderate means of subsistence for the present; and that the other nine already destroyed by secularization and the neophytes demoralized are in a state of moral impossibility of ever raising their heads."

--- Results of Confiscation ---

The decay of San Juan Bautista is outlined by Father Gonzalez Rubio, superior of the Zacatecan priests who wrote to his superior in Mexico: "Some missions like Soledad, San Juan Bautista ~~and~~ etc. are almost as though they ceased to exist. For San Juan Bautista and Santa Cruz I was offered the only recourse left there-- the orchards; but as they are in an almost abandoned state, to fence and cultivate them would require some expense. I have exhorted my Brethren to be patient and to provide for their subsistence and for the maintenance of Divine Worship from alms and other honorable receipts." (136)

Pico had to move quickly, for the home government had not given authority for his acts. On September

4th, 1845 he asked his brother Andrés Pico and Juan Manso to take an inventory at San Juan Bautista. The paper, signed by the two commissioners and Padre Ánzar, pathetically, could list only the parish house of sixteen rooms; the orchard to the north, containing 875 trees; a vineyard of 1,200 vines and about 7,500 square varas of other land. All the remainder of the once flourishing mission had gone to satisfy the greed of the paisanos.

Having learned the condition of each mission, the avaricious Pico calmly began to auction off, publicly, the church property, despite the fact that the Mexican government already had declared it to be private property. However, difficulties with Castro arose. Castro was military commander at Monterey and Pico needed money to thwart him. Consequently on May 4, 1846, he sold the San Juan Bautista mission orchard to Ollivier Deleisseques to pay a personal debt. Castro also needed money. He tried to borrow funds, offering the same mission as partial security, only to find that Pico secretly had sold the land from under his very nose, three months previously. Historians agree that Pio Pico by his illegal sales, completed the destruction of the missions. (137)

On July 7, 1846 the United States forces captured the customs house at Monterey and took possession of California. Be it recorded to the eternal credit of the American government that it restored at least the church edifices to the ecclesiastics. Major Emory, Governor Kearney and others

voiced their disapproval of the confiscation and stated their belief that the action was illegal and fraudulent.

Consequently Kearney immediately returned the missions to the resident priests, pending an investigation of all claims. He forbade them to dispose of the property until a decision had been reached. How happy Father Ánzar at harrassed San Juan Bautista must have been to read the following declaration of Governor Mason (Kearney's successor): "The United States government fully recognizes and will sustain the rights of the priests at the missions and to all mission property against all those who cannot in due course of law show a just and sound title and my instructions from the President require me to sustain him." (138)

The military authorities accused Father Ánzar of trying to sell property. Although he showed legal grants from General José Castro, they declared the sale was null and void. (139)

The United States officials likewise provided for a legal election of an alcade at San Juan Bautista and provided him with ammunition with which to enable residents to ward off attacks by robber Indians.

Finally, a United States government commission passing on all claims, returned to the Church the same amount of land at San Juan Bautista which it still possessed in 1933, about 17 acres. The patent was signed by President Buchanan on November 19, 1859. (140)

By that time Father Ánzar had left, after thirty years of faithful service.

He had, in 1843, been named by the discretos of Guadalupe College in Zacatecas, as Padre Presidente over the nine Zacatecanos, to succeed Father Gonzales Rubio who became secretary to Bishop Diego. (141) As Padre Presidente Father Ánzar refused, soon after April 20, 1844, to abide by a confidential instruction unwisely issued by Father Lorenzo Quijas, vice comisario of the Missions, instructing the six friars remaining at the missions, to refuse access to the parish records to Bishop Diego who was about to make an official visitation, unless the prelate agreed to supply assistant priests in some of the churches. The Bishop visited San Juan Bautista on June 21, 1844 but there is no record of Confirmation.

When Bishop Alemany established himself at Monterey, Father Ánzar was still at San Juan Bautista and was mentioned in the Bishop's report to the 1851 Catholic Directory. (142) On April 30, 1853 only two Zacatecan Fathers remained on the missions besides Father Ánzar. They were Father Gonzalez Rubio and Father Francisco Sanchez. (143) The last record Fr. Ánzar made at San Juan Bautista was for a marriage on November 8, 1854. (144)

During Father Ánzar's occupancy, Father Doroteo Ambris was appointed administrator of tithes, although Father Ánzar remained in charge. Under the assignment Father Ambris could keep one-half of the tithes for his own support. (145)

According to his nephew, Father Ánzar returned

to Mexico soon after November 8, 1854 and died in Colima. His sacristan, an Englishman named Colgate, accompanied him.

--- Arrival of the Secular Clergy ---

Father Anzar was succeeded by Rev. J.Molinies, the first resident secular priest. Fr.Molinies made Latin entries in the church records in contrast to the previous ones which were in Spanish. It is interesting to study the signatures of the Padres. Each one inscribed a peculiar flourish at the end of his name, most frequently using the initials D.V. which represented their favorite expression, "Deo volente" (God willing). Father Molinies stayed until June 22, 1856 when he left for San Francisco.

He was followed by Rev. Francisco Mora, who was to be Bishop Coadjutor of the diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles eighteen years later. Father Mora stayed at San Juan Bautista until September 24, 1860, when he was transferred to the old Plaza church in Los Angeles.

Up to August 22, 1864 there was a total of 5,221 burials at San Juan Bautista. Previous quotations have been incorrect because when the 4,850th burial entry was to be made, the recorder (Fr.Francisco Mora?) slipped back to the numeral 3,851. The marriages totalled 1,633 from October 5, 1797 to December 31, 1859. (146)

Rev. Antonio Ubach, a Catalanian, was in charge

until April 8, 1865 when he was transferred to San Diego, where he died in 1907.

In 1858 Bishop Thaddeus Amat, a Vincentian, bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles, wrote to Father Burlando, director of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, known as the Vincentian Sisters of Charity, at Emmitsburg, Maryland, telling him that preparations were being made for a new orphanage at San Juan Bautista "about ten hours journey from San Francisco by stage." He predicted, optimistically, that it was the best location for such a place, that in a short time the school would be as important as the one in Los Angeles.

After writing the letter, Bishop Amat went to Europe. On his return he wrote again, May 22, 1861, urging the immediate assignment of Sisters to San Juan Bautista. He pointed out the fact that there were several important cities nearby. To impress upon them that San Juan Bautista was not a Spanish wilderness, he mentioned that there were several good Irish families in the village. He added that the property was eight hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide and that a brick building was being constructed for the Sisters.

In response to the Bishop's appeal, Sister Mary Phileta McCarthy, a native of Ireland, was sent to San Juan Bautista from St. Patrick's school in San Francisco. She was appointed Sister Servant (Superior). Sister Clara de Cisneros and Sister Xavier Schauer, born in

Bavaria, were transferred with her. The trio was accompanied by Sister Scholastica who at that time was visitatrix on the Pacific coast, under the direction of the council at St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

On June 28, 1862, Sister Scholastica wrote from the Mission to her Superiors:

"We left home by the first steamer (probably to Monterey) and arrived here on St. John's Day, to the great joy of the good pastor and people. Our Sisters will have quite a large school here as soon as they open it and will do well. There are some Americans, a good many Irish, but few natives in this place. By collecting, the good pastor has begun the building; it will be seventy-two feet by forty, two stories with an attic. This with a large school-room of the old mission building will be sufficient to accomodate the children for the present." (147)

When they arrived the Sisters had no equipment. They lived in two of the rooms in the adobe mission building, rooms which in 1933 were used for the museum. There were no beds and so the brave women slept on mattresses, placed on the floor. The parishioners gave a "Grand Ball" to raise funds for the Sisters. The dance was held in the long room back of the church, the room which had been the Mission chapel while the church was under construction. In 1933 the room was used as a workshop, but after the ball it was utilized as the school. About forty day students attended beside the fifty orphans who lived under the kind supervision of the Sisters.

Mrs. Imelda Rozas of San Juan Bautista was one of the orphans and Mrs. Guadalupe Anzar was among the day school pupils.

In addition to the three who founded the orphan-

age the following took part later in the work: Sister Mary Joseph Clinton, born in Ireland, who succeeded Sister Phileta in 1870; Sister Joseph who went from San Juan Bautista to San Francisco, where she died in 1897; Sister Angelica Wynn, who was born in Ireland and went from the Mission to San Francisco where she died in 1915; Sister Ignacia Bruce who was born in Australia and died in Philadelphia in 1925; Sister Julia Nunan who was born in Ireland and died in Santa Cruz in 1878; Sister Bridget Fanning who was born in Ireland and died in Emmitsburg in 1920. The first superior, Sister Phileta, was transferred to Los Angeles and died in Maryland in 1893. Her companion, Sister Xavier Schauer died in Los Angeles in 1912. (148)

After nine years the Sisters of Charity left San Juan Bautista in 1871, moving to Santa Cruz and taking the children with them.

Meanwhile, Bishop Amat on his way to the Vatican Council in Rome, revisited his native Spain and in November, 1869, interviewed Rev. Joaquin Masmitja, who 21 years before had founded the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The prelate desired to establish a foundation of six Sisters in Los Angeles. Permission was granted but with the proviso that the company number ten. In the following February, ten volunteer Sisters were chosen to set sail in September 1870, but the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war detained them until August 2, 1871, when they left, accompanied by Rev. Francis Mora, vicar general of Bishop Amat and later his successor, who had

been sent to Spain to escort the religious to America.

The group arrived in San Francisco August 31, 1871, soon after the Vincentian Sisters had left San Juan Bautista. Instructions from the Bishop directed them to Gilroy where they arrived on September 3. On the following day Sisters Carmen Argelaga, superior, Luisa Casas, Luisa Serra, Concepcion Compte and Maria Navarra were sent to San Juan to reopen the orphanage. On September 11, they opened a school, while the remaining five in Gilroy did likewise. They could not speak English so employed American teachers for the ordinary branches of study while they taught Spanish and the fine arts. The orphans were supported by the income from the students who were charged thirty dollars a month for boarders and two dollars a month for day scholars. Additional income was derived from the sale of altar linens, artificial flowers and vestments which the Sisters sold to other parishes of the diocese. Concerts and fiestas were held twice a year for the same purpose.

As the number of orphans increased, the Sisters, at their own expense, erected new buildings. The brick building which already was standing, faced east, toward the Mission. The children slept in the brick building. The first wooden structure which the Sisters caused to be erected contained their own cells, community room and sewing rooms. It was razed in 1933. The second wooden building which also faced eastward and which was nearest to the valley contained a storeroom, pantry, kitchen,

dining room and chapel. The three buildings enclosed a small patio containing a garden and an old Dutch brick oven. The foundation of the oven was still visible in 1933.

Not until 1880 did the Sisters secure state support for orphans. As far as can be determined they at one time had as many as 250.

After thirty years of service as Superior, Sister Mary Carmen Argelada was succeeded by Sister Mary de Sales Pierce who was born in Winsted, Connecticut, June 22, 1852. She had received the habit at San Juan Bautista November 15, 1873, and made her vows there on November 19, 1874. She was sent to San Luis Obispo when the Sisters started work there, in August 1876, and later was assigned to Gilroy and Los Angeles. In 1904 she was sent back to San Juan Bautista as superior, and made a tour of San Benito county begging for funds with which to install modern plumbing.

Despite the primitive conditions of sanitation the Sisters and children were blessed with the best of health. From 1871 to 1906 the orphanage was ~~never~~ saddened only by one death, that of Maria Lupe Escobar, who died August 21, 1895. Many times the State authorities threatened to close the institution but through the influence of a Protestant, Doctor Cargill, the threat was never carried out.

On April 24, 1890, at 3:30 A.M. an earthquake knocked out an entire end wall of the brick building,

leaving the childrens' beds standing within an inch of the edge. No one ~~was~~ hurt. Many thought that the institution would have to be closed and Sister Carmen wrote to Bishop Mora to discover his will in the matter. He immediately began the work of reconstruction, enabling the Sisters to continue until the San Francisco quake of 1906.

The second tremor was so severe that Bishop Conaty and Mother Magdalen, provincial superior, decided that the buildings were beyond repair and that it would be safer to send the children to other institutions. Some were placed in the care of the Vincentian Sisters of Charity at Santa Cruz and the others sent to St. Catherine's Convent, San Bernardino. In June 1906, the Sisters closed their day school and after returning the four cows which had been given to them by the Ánzar family, left San Juan Bautista.

Sister Carmen Argelada, who had served faithfully for thirty-five years, thirty-two of them as Superior, and Sister Frances Huix, who had been there since 1885, went to the Motherhouse in Hollywood where Sister Carmen died March 2, 1911, and her companion on the following day. Sisters Concepcion Compte and Vibiana Lynch went to Pico Heights Convent, Los Angeles.

The former was one of the original Spanish Sisters. She served at the orphanage from 1871 to 1872; 1887 to 1893, and 1897 to 1906, and died at Hollywood September 2, 1915. The latter was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, December 26, 1856. She received the habit

in San Juan, January 26, 1875. After her profession, February 25, 1876, she was sent to Gilroy and later to San Luis Obispo and San Bernardino. She returned to San Juan Bautista August, 1898, remained there until 1906, and was still living in 1933. Sister Mary Aloysius Newel was born in Nederzerf, Germany, April 20, 1857. She received the habit in San Juan Bautista October 4, 1876, and with the exception of six months in 1901, she remained there in charge of the orphans until 1906. She was truly a mother to the orphans and was deeply loved by them. Sister de Sales Pierce served as Superior of Pico Heights Convent, Los Angeles after the closing of the orphanage. She died at Hollywood, April 9, 1926. Sister Luisa Serra was stationed at San Juan Bautista from 1871 to 1890; Sister Corazon de Marie Sureda, was there from 1872 to 1873 and again from 1876 to 1888; Sister Mencia Martotano, was in San Juan Bautista from 1874 to 1876 and again from 1880 to 1882; and Sister Carmen Divi, who was there in 1874, returned July 22, 1897.

The other Sisters who served at San Juan Bautista were Sisters Mary de Pazzi, Teresa Phelan, Conception Garvey, Mary Joseph Keleher, Patrick Dolan, Margaret de Cortona and Agnes Green. The Phelans were immediate relations of the Dunns of Gilroy and Senator Phelan of San Francisco. Both were born in Ireland and educated in Belgium. Through the influence of Father Hudson of Gilroy, a family friend, they entered the Convent and received the habit August 2, 1872. Sister Mary de Pazzi

served in San Juan Bautista from 1874 to 1876 and again in 1882. She died in the Motherhouse in Spain about 1925. Her sister, Sister Mary Teresa, was assigned to the mission from 1873 to 1874 and again in 1884. She left the Order and returned to her home in Ireland. Sister Margaret Cortona was born in Ireland January 1841. She received the habit in San Juan Bautista September 22, 1874. She was assigned there from 1878 to 1886, was transferred to San Luis Obispo July 1887 and died in Hollywood June 26, 1911. Sister Agnes Green, a native of San Luis Obispo served in the Mission for six months in 1901. Sister Patrick Dolan, a native of Ireland, served from 1888 to 1890 and died in Hollywood, March 13, 1906. Sister Joseph Keleher was born in San Francisco, April 2, 1852, received the habit in San Juan Bautista November 19, 1874 and remained there until 1893. She died in Hollywood, March 31, 1928. She was followed in death by Sister Luisa Casas, one of the original band who had been assigned from 1871 to 1874, and then transferred to Gilroy. Sister Mary Conception Garvey, the first English speaking girl in the California Institute, was a native of Ireland. She received the habit at Gilroy, January 6, 1872, was principal of the San Juan Bautista school from 1876 to 1880 and was later made superior at San Luis Obispo. She died in Hollywood, December 12, 1912. (149)

After the Sisters left, one of their wooden buildings was used as temporary church when the 1906

earthquake filled the mission edifice with debris. The same frame building was razed in 1933.

The Vincentian Sisters had been brought to San Juan Bautista by Father Ubach. Before they left he was succeeded on May 2, 1865 by Rev. Ricardo Cipriano Rubio who later was instrumental in bringing the Immaculate Heart Sisters to the Mission. The records show Father Rubio still in charge on May 20, 1878. During his pastorate he was assisted from time to time by Father Sanchez the Zacatecan friar, who had been given "carte blanche" by Bishop Mora to care for the Mexicans and Indians wherever and whenever he could.

Father Sanchez is remembered by the Sanjuaneros (as Father Arroyo called them) for his deep humility and careful observance of Poverty but especially for his spirit of mortification which prompted him to spend his nights in prayer before the Tabernacle, snatching a brief sleep on the top step of the altar. When it is recalled that the temperature of the great structure seldom ascends to 55 degrees, even in the hottest weather, and is much lower at night, his mortification takes on heroic aspects.

Father Rubio built the large church tower which still stands. It provided two sunny, dry rooms, in contrast to the cold, damp quarters of the adobe building. The pastor slept on the second floor where he could reach the ropes running to the two bells in the belfry above.

Unfortunately he seems not to have had an architectural sense for the tower was a New England steeple! In the 1906 earthquake the top fell and a new belfry was constructed. It was an attempt at Spanish architecture but left much to be desired. The tower still stood in 1933. Mrs. Edward Breen had been buried on the site of the tower, but her remains were transferred to the village cemetery when building activities were started.

Father Rubio's regular assistant was Rev. Ricardo Valentin Closa, also a Catalonian, who arrived in 1874 and remained for a period of thirty-six years, during which time he succeeded Father Rubio as pastor. (150) Father Closa was born in Vich, Catalonia, Spain, February 14, 1841. When thirty years old he came to the United States and on June 29, 1872 was ordained to the priesthood, in Los Angeles. He was not a Jesuit, as James says (151) but was assigned to the Old Plaza Church in the southern city. After a few months he was sent to San Juan Bautista where he died on March 9, 1916. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery of the village on March 13, the interment being conducted by V. Rev. Msgr. P. J. Fisher, V. F., of Santa Cruz. The chanting of the Office of the Dead previously had been conducted by Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. M. McCarthy, V. F. of Fresno. About 18 priests attended. Father (later Monsignor) Mestres of Monterey preached the eulogy. During Father Closa's pastorate the centennial of the Mission's founding occurred on June 24, 1897 but no celebration was held.

Nine years later in 1906 the San Francisco earthquake wrought great damage to the mission church. Large sections of both outer walls fell, exposing the side aisles. The spire above the belfry toppled. Much harm was done to the entire structure which threatened to collapse. Consequently a campaign to save the Mission was started. A fiesta was held on June 24, 1907 to raise funds for the restoration. About \$800 was cleared above expenses and was used together with several gifts of money and supplies to tidy up the church.

A wooden Communion rail was installed. A new railing was put in the choir loft. But the building was still declared unsafe. The belfry was replaced as noted above. A four room house (removed from the grounds in 1933) was built for Father Closa in the patio. The adobe, tile-topped wall around the Indian cemetery, adjoining the church, had fallen and it was picked up but not restored.

During this period, Mass was said in a room of the Mission living quarters. The attendance had dwindled considerably. Father John Pujol assisted Father Closa in his last years from 1909 until March 23, 1914.

At Father Closa's death Rev. Pantaleon Triana became pastor until March 3, 1918. In 1933 Father Triana was at Stevinson, California.

Rev. P. Stoetters was stationed at San Juan

Bautista from April 14, 1918 until February 20, 1919. A month later Rev. Joseph O'Reilly was assigned to the parish (March 9). On February 19, 1923 he started important work of restoration. Great concrete buttresses were placed in the side aisles to uphold the curtained arches. Their columns, indoors, were strengthened with concrete. Large windows were cut next to the side altars. Beams made of bolted planks were used to strengthen the clear-story. On May 11, 1923 three months later, services were held in the main church for the first time in seventeen years. According to the Mission ledgers the major repairs under Father O'Reilly's supervision cost \$5,659.44. He stayed until July 31, 1928 when he was made chaplain of St. Agnes Hospital, Fresno. Father O'Reilly became nearly blind in his declining years and died in Fresno in 1931.

His work as pastor ceased when Rt. Rev. John B. MacGinley, Bishop of the diocese of Monterey-Fresno, placed the historic church in the care of The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, Maryknoll, New York. The first Maryknoll Father at the Mission was Rev. Hugh Lavery, M.M., who stayed from August 1, 1928 until January 16, 1929 when he was succeeded by Rev. Francis J. Caffrey, M.M.

One of the first things which the Maryknollers did was to clean up the mission buildings and grounds. Windows were missing in some sections of the adobe

living quarters. Chickens walked through the old kitchen. Many articles of historical worth lay in forgotten corners.

Due to the systematic work of Brother Louis Reinhart, M.M., the old place took on a new appearance and many valuable odds and ends were salvaged from the dust and weeds. The mission museum was enlarged and many articles put under glass.

---The Mission Museum---

The student of mission history will find an abundance of material in the San Juan Bautista museum which comprises two large rooms opening on to the cloister. These rooms originally were one--- probably a common room for the friars, and they contain many priceless relics. Perhaps the most unusual of all the objects is a barrel organ used by Father Tapis to attract the savages. The instrument was made by Benjamin Dodson of Swan Street, London. It is the grind-organ type, above five feet in height and has imitation pipes in front. Music is produced by large wooden drums which bristle with wooden pins. A list of some of the pieces can be deciphered. The titles include White Cockade, Copenhagen Waltz, Queen's Waltz, Hungarian Joe, La Poule, Money Musk, Go to the Devil, Spanish Waltz, La Moira, La Callicart, College Hornpipe, Lady Campbell's Reel and Fandango.

According to various authors (Carr, James, Hall, et al.) the organ probably belonged to Captain George Vancouver British navigator, who entered San Francisco Bay on November 14, 1792, having sailed down from the north. On November 25th he went to Monterey, where he stayed until January 14, 1793. He was invited by Father Lasuén to visit Mission San Carlos. Although he was not a Catholic, Vancouver was delighted with the courtesies extended to him by the Padres. He writes of Father Lasuén as "a personage of seventy-two years of age whose gentle manners united to a most venerable and placid countenance, indicated that tranquillized state of mind that fitted him in an eminent degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution."(152)

Since the barrel-organ was made in London and San Juan Bautista was founded by the same Father Lasuén but four years after Vancouver's departure, the writers, perhaps, feel that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the instrument was the gift of the explorer to his genial host, for, they might reason, had the organ been brought to San Juan Bautista by Spanish officials, it is not likely that the instrument would have been of English manufacture.

The origin of the organ, of course, can be only a mere conjecture. However, in connection with the theory that it was the gift of Vancouver, it might be pointed out that the Copenhagen Waltz, one of the

tunes included on the music rolls, was written during the joyous days in England following Lord Nelson's destruction of the Danish fleet in 1801, and Lord Cathcart's victory of Copenhagen in 1807, which events took place after Vancouver's death (1798). Moreover, the famous navigator never mentions an organ in any of his accounts, although he includes many other details, and he was too little of a Gilbert and Sullivan "Captain Reece" to provide an organ for his crew to dance to in fine weather.

It is not strange that an English organ found its way to a Spanish settlement, because London was the center of organ-building; Spain was not and Germany made organs for use at home, having little or no foreign trade. England enjoyed a thriving business with South American ports which, in turn, were connected by direct trade routes with Monterey, California.

Father Engelhardt insists (153) that the barrel organ was not used in the choir loft of the church. Doubt might be thrown upon that statement not only by the testimony of the parishioners that the organ always was in the balcony of the church until removed about 1904, but also by the thought that Padres who had the Indians sing the Dies Irae and Lauda Sion in waltz time (as we recount below) might not hesitate to use barrel organ melodies, the profane character of which certainly was unknown to the neophytes.

This writer has heard of a Cam~~er~~gian mission church in which a grind-organ was used at Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and it is not unthinkable that the priests at San Juan Bautista might have done likewise.

In a room adjoining that which contains the organ, is a glass case protecting vestments which include six copes and ten chasubles. Many of them are trimmed with silver braid as bright today as it was originally more than one hundred years ago.

Tradition says that the vestments were the gift of the King and Queen of Spain and many of them are worthy of such donors.

In our present day, vestments for missionaries frequently have one color on one side and another on the reverse. At San Juan Bautista, however, some sets were intended to be used under as many as four distinct color requirements. On one side an equal amount of violet and yellow appears, on the opposite side the garment is partially red and partially white.

There are two missal stands of carved wood covered with plaster of paris, gilded and shellaced. The effect is very beautiful. Two torches, six feet high, and a processional Cross, eight feet in height are finished in the same manner. There is an asperger of silver and a holy water vessel to match, the lip of which is perfectly turned. Only a small part of the mission library remains. It includes a set of Theology

by Henno, a Divine History of the Mother of God, printed in Seville in 1693, a ritual of 1787 and a Bassani Bible of 1774. Three great wooden chairs, now badly eaten by termites, were used by the celebrant and ministers at Mass.

Nearby is a wooden music stand, which resembles a large box on a fancy base. At its side is a small door which, when opened, provides an aperture not unlike that of a birdhouse. Consequently for many years local guides getting the idea perhaps, from Hall's California Trails (153a), pointed out the music stand as something of a dovecote de luxe. The story was that on Pentecost Sunday the stand, containing white pigeons, was placed in the sanctuary of the church. At the "Gloria" or some other psychological moment, the little door was opened and the doves, symbolic of the Holy Spirit, would flutter out over the congregation, thereby giving the childlike natives a dramatic thrill.

Such theatricals, of course, scarcely seem to coincide with the lives of the Padres and their priestly respect for the sacred character of the Mass. Although the filth inside the box showed that it had been used for pigeons, at least in later years, it does not seem credible that the priests would have made such an elaborate affair for use but once a year when an ordinary box or basket would have sufficed.

Father Engelhardt was asked to explain the

little door in the stand. "For many years I stood before such a music desk in the Franciscan novitiate and elsewhere," he said. "The little door was there too. In the opening we placed the wooden sabre used for turning the pages. The sabre was very thin and about two feet long. The heavy pages of the great parchment choir-books which were beautifully illuminated, were in danger of being soiled by constant handling and the wooden blade fitted in under the lower corner of each page and thus prevented damage. Frequently a dust cloth was hidden with the sabre by a step-saving cleric."

On a shelf near the music stand is a large crotalus or clapper, for Holy Week, when the bells are silenced. The hollow sounding-board is two feet in length, one foot wide and almost three inches thick. A handle is provided at one end and a pair of metal knockers on either side. Guadalupe Ánzar had the task, as a boy, to walk through the village streets during the last three days of Holy Week, calling the populace to divine worship by shaking this huge clapper.

--- Father Tapis ---

In the bottom of the museum vestment cases are two great volumes of hand-inscribed music. They remind us of the Musician of the Missions, Fray Estévan Tapis, who was once pastor at San Juan Bautista. He was born August 25, 1754 in Santa Coloma de Farnes,

Catalonia, Spain. He received the Franciscan habit in Gerona on January 27, 1778. Leaving Cadiz on June 4, 1786 he arrived at Monterey, California four years later, August 2, 1790. In 1793, after three years of service at San Luis Obispo, he was transferred to Santa Barbara where he remained until 1806 (154). While at Santa Barbara he visited San Juan Bautista, this fact being indicated by the appearance of his name in the Book of Baptisms on October 10, 1805. Father Tapis was stationed at San Carlos 1807 to 1811, at Purissima 1811 to 1813, at Santa Inez 1813 to 1814 and at San Juan Bautista, January 1816 to November 3, 1825. (155)

It is recorded that he was made permanent secretary of San Juan Bautista on February 13, 1815. At the death of Father Lasuén in 1813, Padre Tapis was elected president of the California missions, re-elected in 1809, and held the position until 1812. He was also vicar for the Bishop of Sonora, Mexico. Knowing several Indians languages, the missionary was able to win his neophytes to himself. He was noted for studying their individual peculiarities and making himself "all things to all men."

Father Tapis was an accomplished musician as is indicated by the books of musical manuscripts in the museum. They are beautifully inscribed on heavy parchment. One book starts with the Mass for the first Sunday in Lent. The rubrics are in Spanish. It is

probable that the Indian choir had difficulty in singing the sequences, because the Dies Irae, Lauda Sion and Veni Sancte Spiritus are written in the easier waltz time. The $3/4$ tempo notation is inscribed at the beginning of each melody, while Gregorian squares are used for modern half notes and diamonds for quarter notes. Consequently each measure has one square and one diamond to preserve the waltz time. The Stabat Mater is written for two voices. Most of the four-part music is highly commendable. Each voice is inscribed in a different color to facilitate reading. The Our Father, in Spanish, as arranged by Father Tapis was sung by a modern choir in a State contest and won first prize. The second volume, a "Propria de Sancto" --much to be regretted-- is unfinished.

In the difference over the question of allegiance to the new Mexican Republic, Father Tapis refused to take the required oath. Had it been merely a question of choosing between the King of Spain and the new form of government, undoubtedly all of the Padres would have taken the oath of fidelity to the Republic. However, the French Revolution and its Reign of Terror were still vivid enough to make them hesitate at becoming even indirectly condoners of irreligion (156). They believed that the Republic was tainted with Voltairianism and subsequent events proved that they were correct.

"I assure your reverence," Father Tapis wrote to Fr. Presidente Durán, "that I am most content to rest quietly notwithstanding the strong contrary winds of opinion between the two columns of these missions with regard to the oath on the Mexican constitution.....What happiness it would be for me if I deserved to suffer a little or much for not wanting to adore the Beast or its forerunner False PhilosophyI live in the confidence of not erring when I follow the judgement of my prelate (Fr.Presidente Durán) by whose mouth it seems I hear the voice of God.....Every day moral blows of grief and perturbation are received. Everything quickens my desire of going to San Marzal (Spanish metaphor for Death) or to heaven whither the malice of the Beast reaches not." (157)

After a painful and lingering disease, Father Tapis died six months later, November 3, 1825. At the time he was the senior missionary in California. (158) His last signature in the mission records appears in the Book of Burials, September 12, 1825. A summary of the entry found in this book shows that on November 4, 1825 Fr.Luis Gil Taboada certified that on that day the body of the Rev.Presidente Emeritus Fray Estéban Tapis, who was president of the missions in California many years---such he had ceased to be---

was buried in the Sanctuary at the Gospel side of the church. He, being actual president, was minister in San Carlos, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Luis Rey, Santa Inez, La Purissima and later, San Juan Bautista. He was a true evangelist, distinguishing himself in the prudence he showed concerning all living subjects, particularly with his Superiors and the Governors who lived at the time when he held office. He was beloved by all---Father, military officers, countrymen and Indians. He preached constantly with fervor; he taught when it was possible, the first rudiments of the school to the children, he wrote music for the singers of the church: "he was anxiously desirous and active in the accomplishment of his sacred duties." (159)

He received the Last Sacraments from the hands of the Rev. Prefect Sarria, four other Fathers assisting-- Rev. Arroyo de la Cuesta, Rev. José Viador of Santa Clara, Rev. Buenaventura Fortuny of San José and Rev. Gil de Taboado of Santa Cruz. Father Tapis died at 2:10 in the afternoon of November 3, 1825.

In addition to the mementoes of Father Tapis the museum contains other interesting objects including a wooden triangle and plumb line used in the construction of the Mission, a wooden form for blocking the Padres' skull caps (a moth-eaten cap is still on the form), a bit of the original redwood Cross which stood formerly on Pagan hill in the Gavilan Heights, south of the village;

Spanish vases, a copper shell used to dip up water at baptisms, a branding iron for cattle (Mission arch surmounted by a Cross), necklaces of acorns, an empty reliquary, stone mortars and pestels, blocks of adobe into which Indian boys had stepped while the mixture was still moist; copper kettles; great cinctures with tassels, too large for personal use but utilized in decorating a bishop's throne (according to an old photograph); two large boxes probably suspended from the wall of the sacristy, both painted by the Indians, one for Missals and similar books, the second for chalices and the ostensorium. The latter box has the figures of the two sacred vessels worked into the decorative design. Three small statues are also to be seen. Two are evidently original Spanish--- one of Our Lady of Soledad and the other most likely of St. Francis Xavier. A modern Infant of Prague with a porcelain head is, apparently, a more recent addition. Two huge Host irons also may be seen, each capable of baking two large Hosts and some small ones at the same time. The irons are like great pliers or pincers. A wool carder, a cowhide pony express pouch, gold-dust scales, cannon balls and bullet molds suggest the flow of "civilization" past the door of the Mission.

--- The Village of San Juan Bautista ---

After the Indians were dispersed and most of them had crossed the valley to the north, a small settlement

of whites sprang into being around the Mission church. In 1835 it numbered about fifty inhabitants (160).

An effort was made to call the village San Juan de Castro in honor of José Castro but the attempt failed and the title of the patron Saint John the Baptist was kept for the settlement as well as for the church.

By 1855 San Juan Bautista had become an important point on El Camino Real. It boasted of four general merchandise stores conducted by James McMahon, an Irishman, Daniel Harris, a Jew, a Frenchman names Prattalongo and Felipe Gardella, an Italian. The supplies for these stores came via flat-bottomed steamboats and barges to Alviso, at the south end of San Francisco Bay, and thence by wagons to San Juan.

A large quantity of merchandise was sent by San Juan dealers to the New Idria quicksilver mines, about sixty-nine miles south of Hollister. It was not unusual to see the pack horses that had carried goods to the mines returning to San Juan carrying two or three iron flasks of quicksilver. Since each container weighed some 350 pounds when full, the precious load was carelessly thrown to the ground without any danger of anyone stealing it.

The town at this time was on the main, and only road which extended the length of the State except one which passed through Tejon Pass beyond Bakersfield. There were no houses in San Joaquin Valley which at that time was a desert. Consequently nearly all travelers used

El Camino Real which had a mission village every forty or fifty miles.

A town through which so much traffic passed naturally would become a favorite haunt of bandits. Murietta, celebrated outlaw, "Three-Fingered Jack" Vasquez and Chavez were frequent visitors. Vasquez and Chavez were raised in San Juan, the former's mother conducting a restaurant next to the 1933 site of the Abbe store. After a particularly bloody hold-up and wholesale murder at Paicines, in San Benito county, Vasquez was hanged in San Jose while his partner Chavez fled to Mexico. Louis Raggio, Jr., of San Juan Bautista, followed Chavez to his hiding place and in attempting to arrest him, killed him. The State of California had offered a reward of \$2,500. for Chavez, dead or alive, so Raggio brought the outlaw's head back to the village where the gruesome trophy was exhibited. The reward was never paid.

At this time the village became quite famous for its lawlessness and crime. The Alameda, that part of the highway immediately to the south of the village stores was the place of execution. It probably was paved by the Padres with tile. Remnants of the bricks were visible in the dust of the road for many years after.

Bodies of sheep-stealers and bandits who had been condemned by the quick justice of vigilantes often were seen swinging from the branches of the willow trees with which the roadway is still lined.

The cemetery west of the village was the scene of a threatened lynching. Poor Maggie Chapman, an Indian orphan, had come to San Juan Bautista when her San Francisco "padrona" had died. She worked as cook for a family. One night her employer came home late and threw a bag of gold upon the table. Maggie saw him, slumped over a bottle of wine, his gold before him. An hour later he was deep in his cups and the gold was gone.

Maggie was accused by her employer the following day of stealing the gold. She protested her innocence but the man ran to a nearby saloon crying out against her. A group of self-righteous citizens marched to the house and dragged the frightened girl to the village cemetery, placed a rope around her neck and threw the other end over the large Mission Cross. Five times the half-choked maiden was pulled into the air and each time asked "What did you do with the gold?" Gasping for breath, she repeated that she knew nothing of the treasure. Finally saner minds prevailed and the poor thing was allowed to go free.

Some time later a workman, digging in the accuser's garden found the bag of gold under a rose bush where the employer remembered he had buried it while drunk. Be it recorded to his credit that he asked for Maggie's forgiveness and received it.

But not all of the mob activities ended so fortunately. One man was hanged too soon. He was a drunken Mexican who set out to kill someone---anyone. The first

person he met was an epileptic named Manuel Butron. The Mexican shot Manuel through the chest. The wounded youth lay on the ground, great spurts of blood flowing from his punctured lungs. The crowd which quickly gathered thought that the lad was dying, so the Mexican was rushed to the Alameda but not however until he had called for the priest at the Mission and had been prepared for death. After the hanging Manuel Butron not only recovered from his wound but never again had epileptic fits. The hasty punishment of the Mexican rested heavily on the consciences of the self-appointed executioners and probably had much to do with the cessation of lynchings at San Juan Bautista.

East of the Alameda is the San Juan canyon where today is located the source of the village water supply. A short distance below the present dam was one built by the Padres and made of logs and stones. A heavy flood in 1862 wiped away all traces of it.

Water from the canyon was brought to the tile kilns which were situated beyond the unopened extensions of Washington and Mariposa streets. Mylar says "the water made a big lake there. I remember often witnessing the drivers of the overland stages after discharging their passengers and before getting ready to stable their horses for the night driving their animals and the stages through this lake thereby giving both animals and vehicle a well-deserved washing."(161)

Water for the mission proper came from springs

immediately below the cemetery and plaza. In Father Closa's time water was pumped from a well to a tank in front of the Indian cemetery by a blind-folded mule who walked in a circle. In 1933 there was a circular shed still standing at the well. Former students of the Sisters' school recalled carrying drinking water to the Convent from the springs which until about 1930 flowed in the lowland just north of the plaza.

In 1861 the sympathies of San Juan Bautista citizens were with the Southern Confederacy. They had practically no contact with the War of Secession until 1864 when the government hired the National Hotel which was then vacant. It was called Camp Lowe after the then governor of the State, Frederick Lowe. Two companies of infantry and one of cavalry, commanded by Major J.C. Cremony, were quartered there. They had been detailed to San Juan Bautista at the request of local authorities who had been unable to cope with the unlawful activities of two men who claimed to be Confederate soldiers, but who later proved to be criminal free-lancers. The pair committed many crimes not the least of which was slitting the ears of their victims. The troops were ordered to capture the pair but accomplished nothing. Later a squad in the mountains accidentally came upon the fugitives who escaped after a running fight covering several miles. They were captured finally by other officers in Los Angeles and the troops were withdrawn from San Juan Bautista.

In the same year the Flint, Bixby and Company bought the Coast Line Stage Company from William E. Lovett who had founded it a year or two earlier. San Juan Bautista was made the company's headquarters. The stage arrived about 5:30 P.M. from the north and returned next morning. The through passengers would take supper while their baggage was transferred to another six-horse coach which, after the meal, would start southward. The stage-coaches went from Los Angeles to San Jose where they connected with the trains to San Francisco. It took 66 hours for passengers to travel from Los Angeles to San Francisco. The fare from Los Angeles to San Jose was twenty-five dollars. (161a)

The stage carried two lights. The express box and mail was carried under the driver's seat. The driver wore a raincoat in wet weather and pulled up a leather apron to his chin. There were no springs in the vehicle, it was "thorough-braced" instead, that is, suspended by several thicknesses of leathern straps.

There were two coaches called "The Great Eastern" and "The Great Western", carrying sixteen passengers inside, four to a seat. Two more could ride with the driver and three more on a roof-seat behind the driver. Another trio rode facing the rear on a roof-seat over the baggage rack behind.

In those days the hotels did a thriving business. The Sebastopol Hotel was the first to open some time about 1853. It was situated opposite the 1933 location of Taix

butcher shop. Angelo Zanetta was the proprietor and so prospered that on Thanksgiving Day, 1858 he opened the Plaza hotel which still stands. All of the stages stopped at the Plaza while the horses were cared for at the nearby barn which in 1933 was a garage.

On that Thanksgiving Day and almost every year on the patronal feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, a great fiesta was held in the plaza. From the balconies of the hotel, of the Castro residence and the Zanetta house the gay señoritas smiled down upon the gallant caballeros in the square below. Troubadors with mandolins, violins and guitars strolled through mission arcade and beneath the trees singing of sunny Spain and dreamy Mexico. A Mexican named Morales, manufacturer of bridles and bits, had the reputation of being the best musician.

In the afternoon feats of horsemanship filled the program. Lassoing, riding bucking steers and picking objects from the ground were included. One trick was to bury a chicken with only its head protruding. A horseman would then ride by at breakneck speed and attempt to lean down and pluck the head of the fowl from its body.

The event of the day was the bull fight. A portable stockade of great strength was erected and within its confines the matadors matched their wits with the instinct of the animal. Frequently, too, a mountain bear was pitted against a bull.

Usually about a dozen Indians would procure the

bear in the nearby mountains. They would select a moonlight night on which to gather at a place where the bears were known to visit. A steer was killed and the carcass widely gashed to permit the odor of blood to permeate the air. The hunters would hide in the surrounding brush and await bruin's arrival. Soon they would hear the howling of wolves and coyotes which indicated that the bear was approaching.

As soon as the bear became engrossed in feasting upon the steer, the men would cast lassoes about his neck whereupon he often rose upon his hind feet. While they were trying to down him he sometimes succeeded in breaking the lariats, but such an accident rarely occurred.

As a rule they managed to gag and hobble him with a dozen or more ropes and would carry him, groaning with rage, in an ox-cart or drag him upon a large cowhide, to the Plaza.

Frequently in the matches, the bear's hind foot was tied with a twenty-foot rope to the bull's front foot.

Ramon Cheverria became famous for riding a wild bull.

The program was climaxed with a gala ball in the second floor dance hall of the Zanetta residence. Tickets for supper and the dance cost ten dollars. As the party progressed the gay lotharios broke cascarones over the heads of their partners. The cascarones were egg shells which had been sucked empty and into which gaily colored

confetti had been carefully inserted. The shells were attractively painted or gilded and retailed for the fabulous price of two for five dollars. They were also popular at the annual Mardi Gras celebration held on the eve of Ash Wednesday.

Needless to say, the priests did not approve of the bull fights, and condemnation of late dancing is found in their refusal to place penitential ashes upon the forehead of any senorita who did not have time on Ash Wednesday morning to remove the tell-tale bits of confetti from her hair. Consequently many a maiden lost considerable sleep meticulously combing the incriminating evidence out of her locks.

Another scene of gay times is the Castro residence, next to the Plaza Hotel. The house is one of the best examples of early California architecture. It is a two-story adobe with a long balcony across the front, occupied in turn by the Castros, the Breen family (members of the ill-fated Donner party) and by a Mrs. O'Flynn, who became famous for driving Helen Hunt Jackson away from San JuanBautista and causing her to write Ramona elsewhere.

It is from the old adobe that Prefect Castro, head of the district, sent a note to General Fremont, American surveyor, who for two days had been at Alisal, ten miles east of Salinas, without giving any signs of departure. The note was similar in tone to one sent at the same time by General Castro at Monterey, giving

Fremont notice to quit the department immediately.

The San Juan Bautista official was a bit more emphatic, stating that Fremont had "entered the pueblos of the district under my charge with an armed force, on a commission which the government of your nation must have given you to survey solely its own territory. Therefore this prefecture orders you as soon as you receive this communication, without any excuse, to retire with your men beyond the limits of this department; it being understood if you do not do it, this prefecture will adopt the necessary measures to make you respect this determination." (162)

"As he was clearly in the wrong," Eldredge says (163) "Fremont had no reason to complain at the tone of either of these communications.....Fremont did not honor either with a written reply but instead sent a verbal refusal to comply with them and that evening moved his camp to Gavilan Peak where he defiantly raised the flag of the United States." The elevation is now called Fremont Peak. Despite the bluster of the American, he abandoned his practically impregnable position and withdrew toward the San Joaquin, most likely under orders from his superior, Larkin.

Soon after the Americans took over California, Cannoñero (Gunner) Juan Chaveria, assisted by Miguel Castro and Refujio Etchavería buried some of the Castro cannons in what is now the seed farm of the Flint ranch.

As one looks across the plaza from the Castro residence a good view of the Mission's arcade is secured. Most of the sketches of San Juan Bautista are taken from that vantage point. It is noticed that there are seventeen arches not including two large rectangular openings. The latter are difficult to explain. In the pencil sketch made by H.M.T.Powell on April 9, 1850 and copyrighted by the Grabhorn Press, San Francisco in 1931, the two larger openings are shown rounded at the top as larger arches. In the wash drawing offered by Father Engelhardt on page 569 of his second volume, the more northerly of the square apertures has a portico or extension with two small arches. The other square opening is not indicated.

Both drawings (and others) show a two story wing at the south end of the living quarters covering about fifteen feet of what in 1933 was a flower plot. This wing would bring the mission structure to the edge of the present street.

Both sketches also indicate two small gables in the roof, which evidently let in light and air to the attic. Powell has included the enormous kitchen chimney some fifteen feet in width, closed over the top, but with small openings on the side to permit the escape of the smoke.

The old adobe hearth, still remains; its bed is 19 by 5 feet and raised about two feet above the ground. There it was that the daily portion of stew sufficient to feed some twelve hundred neophytes was cooked in large

kettles. An old Indian woman told Helen Hunt Jackson (164) that fifty steers were killed every eight days for food.

Next to the kitchen is the refectory, a square room with tiled floor and wooden cupboards in the wall. The low doorway between the kitchen and the dining room evidently was closed off to keep the smoke and the Indians out of the Padres' quarters. There are undeniable marks of a whirling barrel-like contraption, (a turn-about or "turn") such as is used in cloistered convents for passing articles back and forth between visitors and religious.

Adjoining the refectory is another smaller one, perhaps used for a guest dining room. It contains a large flour or dough bin which is of later construction.

Both of these rooms open into the patio as do all of the quarters on the inside of the building. The patio is one of the most delightful spots in all the Mission. In it is found a wide variety of flowers including the scarlet flowering cactus with its bell-like blossoms and the peculiar ora de leon, "lion's claw" vine. They grow at the edge of the little covered cloister where the priests used to seek a brief respite from the heat of the day. Overhead is the original roofing just as it was put up in 1797. While the rest of the mission roof has been replaced with shingles or tile laid on wood, the small cloister roof still rests on the ancient poles which are bound together with rawhide thongs.

At the end of this cool walk is an attractive

door of exquisite beauty. Down its full length are carved three wavy lines once brightly colored, representing the River of Life. The pattern is found in many of the missions and reminded those who passed through the door that life is a river which bears one ever on to the sea of eternity.

In the garden is a sun-dial whose ancient sandstone face rests on a modern concrete base. It is interesting to think that once it was the only time-piece in the entire valley, marking with its shadowy finger the hours of disappointment and success which crowded the Padres' busy days.

The garden is enclosed on three sides by the mission buildings, to the east by the long arcaded living quarters; to the north by the great church, its adobe walls protected from the rains by a sheathing of boards; to the west by a new rectory built in 1933 in harmony with the surrounding structures, on the site of former buildings indicated in Ehrenberg's map.

In front of the church there once stood a wooden yoke from which were suspended three bells. An old photo shows them clearly. One resident says that when he moved into the village in 1857 the bells could be heard eight miles away in what is now the city of Hollister. Two of them were recast, during which operation the silver in them was stolen, causing them to lose their pure tone. But one of the original bells now remains in the belfry.

Some say that it is the largest in California. It bears the inscription "Ave Maria Purissima. S.Fernando RVELAS me fecit 1809."

To the north of the Indian cemetery a roadway is still visible. It is a section of the original El Camino Real which came up from the flats of the valley and passed in front of the graveyard. The old retaining wall of quarried stone keeps the cemetery soil from slipping down on to the highway.

On the flat-land below the road is the orchard which originally contained 875 fruit trees and was surrounded by a wall of old cattle bones according to the 1835 inventory. (165) A half-dozen trees, one of them evidently more than one hundred years old still stood in 1933. The apples apparently have been crossed with the pears, accidentally or otherwise, receiving shape from the latter fruit. Samples of the pears were sent to the College of Agriculture, University of California, where, up to the time of this writing, the investigators had been unable to classify the fruit in any known California category.

The vineyard lay to the east of the orchard and with the orchard was watered by deep irrigation ditches, traces of which were visible in 1929.

But with the confiscation of the Mission the church property declined. The village prospered for a few years during which it became the popular stage-coach

town described above. Then the smoky ogre of the steam railroad cast its ominous shadow over San Juan Bautista and the fortunes of the village started downward.

As early as 1864 the railroad had reached San Jose. Many of the San Juan Bautista residents had attended the gay festivities in honor of the event. In 1869 the tracks had been laid as far as Gilroy. Becoming a terminal, Gilroy grew, while San JuanBautista began to fade. An effort was made by rail officials to secure a right of way across the property of Messrs. Lux and Miller but the negotiations failed. The traction authorities also asked for a subsidy of sixty thousand dollars to include San Juan Bautista in the proposed route, but the sheep and cattle men who were the principal property owners, argued against it. They said that they could drive their herds the seven miles to Gilroy and thus save the sixty thousand dollars. They saved the sixty thousand, but San Juan Bautista suffered an irreparable loss. The railroad was pushed to Hollister as a terminus and later the main line was built past Watsonville to Salinas and so down the Coast.

Others of the villagers are said to have objected to the railroad as a competitor to the stage coaches. Since San Juan Bautista was the headquarters for the Coast Line Stages some of the citizens thought it would be a pity to harm the stage coach business by welcoming the railroad. But soon the stages were gathering dust in barns

while the trains steamed by a few miles to the north.

And then another calamity struck the town.

In 1868 a traveler from Los Angeles registered at the National Hotel, which was run by Frank Pullen. The guest was ill and the landlord called in a physician who diagnosed the ailment as measles. Several sympathetic citizens called upon the visitor to proffer their help. One of them, James Collins, looked at the patient and exclaimed, "If that man hasn't small-pox then I never had it." The deep pock-marks on Collins' cheeks indicated his authority to speak.

A few days later those who had visited the sick man became ill with the dread disease but not until after they had attended a well-crowded dance. About forty of the dancers soon were laid low by smallpox. A general exodus began. Many families camped in the mountains. Hysteria was prevalent. A "pest House" was erected on the banks of the San Benito river. Those who had no one to care for them were sent to that awful place. Nurses could not be obtained anywhere although as much as twenty dollars a night was offered for their services.

James Collins and Joseph Beals were in charge of the pest house. One sick man apparently was dying so although it was a bitterly cold night they removed him from his cot, laid him outdoors among the dead and placed another patient in the vacated bed. The newcomer died and the man outdoors regained his health.

All burials took place after sundown---one night

thirteen were interred. The dead were hauled to the cemetery in a dump cart. It is estimated that more than 100 died during the epidemic.

Every road to San Juan was barred but the disease spread to Watsonville. Food supplies dwindled. Finally two citizens slipped out of town at night, changed their clothes and begged supplies and money from a Watsonville physician, who took up a collection for the stricken town. Needless to say the epidemic, besides driving away many families, gave San Juan Bautista a reputation for unhealthfulness.

Another blow came in 1871 when Monterey county was sliced to make San Benito county. Boundaries were juggled so that Hollister would be in the center of the new county and could become the county seat. The establishment of the new court house caused several San Juan Bautista merchants to follow the others who had moved to Hollister when the railroad extended its tracks there.

The village continued merely to exist until 1907 when the Mission Cement Company constructed a great plant in the San Juan canyon. Immediately business revived. But in the financial depression of 1930 the cement plant was closed, families left, and gloom again enveloped the community.

A year later the Coast Highway, principal thoroughfare of California which always had brought tourists to the village, was switched through the new Prunedale cut-

off and the town became **practically** isolated.

But meanwhile the Maryknoll Fathers had accepted the care of the Mission. Consecrated to the same ideals as the Padres, that of bringing a knowledge of Christ to pagan souls, they saw an opportunity for good work among the thousand or more Japanese who had settled in the vicinity of the town. Interest of Americans in the work was aroused by an annual pageant inaugurated on the old fiesta day of June 24. Crowds began to visit the church. Finally in 1933 through the efforts of Rev. Francis J. Caffrey, M.M. the State of California made the plaza and its adjoining buildings (excepting the church property) a state monument, assuring preservation of the delightful spot in which according to Helen Hunt Jackson "there lingers more of the atmosphere of the olden time than is to be found in any other place in California. The church fronts on a little green locust walled plaza----the sleepiest, dreamiest place in the world." (166)

And so San Juan Bautista which has experienced a brilliant rise and a tragic decline faces a hopeful future. Zeal for souls prompted its erection; greed of Man occasioned its decay; appreciation of History should guarantee its preservation.

The Ultimate Cause of all things fore-ordained that Mission San Juan Bautista should take its part in His great plan to save souls. That task is not yet complete. The work goes on. The same Power Which drove St. Paul

toward Spain, Which impelled the Friars to California still vibrates within the grey adobe walls of the old mission and urges présent-day Americans to give themselves "to bring to other lands what the Padres brought to California."(167)

Who knows but that on the Last Great Day the recording angel will reveal that of all the glorious achievements accredited to Mission San Juan Bautista, not the least is the conversion of unknown souls in far Cathay?

--- Laus Deo ---

FOOTNOTES

- 1 - Matt. XXIV, 19
- 2 - Acts, XI, 1, 2
- 3 - Acts, X, 28
- 4 - Acts, X, 34, 35
- 5 - Romans, XV, 24, 28
- 6 - Epistles of St. Paul, Callan, Vol.I, Introd.
- 7 - English translation of Gleeson in Cath.Church in California Vol. I, 37.- 41
- 8 - Engelhardt, Vol II, Appendix G, p. 671
- 9 - idem
- 10 - idem
- 11 - idem
- 12 - idem
- 13 - Engelhardt, I, 12
- 14 - Bolton, Padre on Horseback, p. 29
- 15 - Engelhardt, I 21
- 16 - Sutro Collection of the Hist.Society of So.Calif.
Vol. II, 10
- 17 - Engelhardt, I, 46
- 18 - Engelhardt, I, 63
- 19 - Engelhardt, I, 289
- 20 - Engelhardt, I, 353
- 21 - idem
- 22 - Engelhardt, II, Appendix A
- 23 - Engelhardt, II, 143
- 24 - Engelhardt, II, 144
- 25 - Bancroft, History of Calif. I, 184
- 26 - idem
- 27 - Engelhardt, I, 471
- 28 - Engelhardt, II, 490

- 29 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 3
- 30 - Engelhardt, II 490 ff.
- 31 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 4
- 32.- Engelhardt, Franciscans in Calif. 397-403
- 33 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 4
- 34 - Engelhardt, II, 75
- 35 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 5
- 36 - Bancroft, op. cit. II, 7, p. 153-154
- 37 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 6
- 38 - History of San Benito County, p. 89
- 39 - James, In and Out of the Old Missions in California
- 40 - Engelhardt, I, 99 ff.
- 41 - Engelhardt, I, 120
- 41a- Mission Archives, 1
- 42 - James, op. cit. p. 236
- 43 - Newcomb, Old Mission Churches etc., p. 279 ff.
- 44 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 139
- 45 - Calif.Archives, State Papers,Missions,Vol.VI,p.648
- 46 - Engelhardt, III, 16
- 47 - James, op.cit. p. 168
- 48 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 11
- 49 - James, op.cit. p. 236
- 50 - Mylar, Early Days in Mission San Juan Bautista,p.22
- 51 - Book of Burials
- 52 - Forbes, California Missions and Landmarks p. 213
- 53 - James, op.cit., p. 238
- 54 - Book of Marriages, Entry No. 653
- 55 - idem
- 56 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 35

- 57 - American Archaeology and Ethnology Vol.II,p.400
- 58 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 130
- 59 - Engelhardt, Franciscans in Calif.,pp.397-403
- 60 - Engelhardt, III, 610
- 61 - Engelhardt, I, 101
- 62 - American Archaeology and Ethnology II, 400
- 63 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 15
- 64 - The Monitor, San Francisco, Feb. 8, 1930
- 65 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 17
- 66 - Mission Archives
- 67 - Engelhardt, II, 275
- 68 - Engelhardt I, 99
- 69 - Engelhardt, I, 101
- 70 - Engelhardt, I, 130
- 71 - Engelhardt, II, 568
- 72 - Engelhardt, San Juan Bautista, p. 21, par.33
- 73 - Mission Archives
- 74 - Mission account book
- 75 - Bancroft, op.cit.,I, 1, p. 557
- 76 - Engelhardt, Franciscans in Calif., 397-403
- 77 - idem
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